A

LETTER

TO THE

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM,
AUDITOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, &c. &c. &c.

RESPECTING HIS GRACE'S CONDUCT

IN THE DISPOSAL OF

COMMISSIONS IN THE MILITIA;

TOGETHER WITH SOME REMARKS

TOUCHING THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

A REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

AND

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

OF THE 21st OF MAY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN EFFECTUAL PLAN FOR PROVIDING NAVY TIMBER; OPPOSED TO THE DANGEROUS AND UNPROFITABLE SYSTEM OF CULTIVATING THE PUBLIC FORESTS UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF OFFICERS OF THE CROWN.

BY MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

A LETTER

TO

HIS GRACE

THE

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

My Lord,

PATIENT as I have been of wrongs received at your hands for a long courſe of years, you ought not to be ſurpriſed, that I ſhould at length, in this public manner, addreſs your Grace on the ſubject. Although I ever conſidered your conduct towards me as highly unconſtitutional, and could aſſign for it no other original cauſe, than my entertaining principles of government too ſound for thoſe abuſes and corruptions which you

had an intereſt in upholding; yet, until the laſt act of your oppreſſion, it was difficult to bring forward a direct, unequivocal proof of your motive. It is now in my power: It is in my power alſo to prove, that in the caſe to which I now allude, your conduct was not only illiberal, but illegal; not only oppreſſive, but diſhonourable, and unconſtitutional. Theſe, my Lord, are the charges which I exhibit againſt you at the bar of the public: And that public is intereſted in judging impartially between us. But poſſibly your Grace may alledge, that the public, not being your peers, are not your judges. And, for ought that I know, this accuſation may be metamorphoſed into a breach of privilege; and I, the accuſer, may be called before the bar of that right honorable Houſe of which you are a member, to anſwer to that complaint. Should it ſo happen, my defence, my Lord, would ſtill be your crimination; and at that bar I would ſtill aſſert, that your conduct has been illiberal, illegal, oppreſſive, diſhonourable, and unconſtitutional.

I grant, in its fulleſt latitude, that diſcre-

tionary power, by which the Lord Lieutenant recommends to, and diſpoſes of, commiſſions. But you, my Lord, in your turn, muſt grant, that it is a moral and a conſtitutional diſcretion; a diſcretion for the ſelection of ability and merit; a diſcretion to prevent the advancement of groſs vice or unfitneſs, or to remove them altogether; a diſcretion ſo to temper military cuſtom, as not to ſuffer the dead letter of promotion to deſtroy the ſpirit which its regularity is intended to cheriſh; in ſhort, a diſcretion to ſupply all the defects of law, ſo as to animate and invigorate the militia in its duty of national defence. And during the late war, there was another diſtinct branch of diſcretion in your hands, given by an act of parliament, ſince repealed, and which diſcretion I do not ſee in the new militia law;—it was a power of rewarding military merit in time of war, by raiſing an officer to a rank above that in which his property qualified him to ſerve.—Charged as you now ſtand, it becomes you, then, my Lord, to ſhew, that in your conduct towards me from the commencement of the late war to the preſent time, during which you have ſeveral

times denied me promotion, it has been ſuch a moral and conſtitutional diſcretion as I have deſcribed, that has uniformly been your guide; and not ſuch a baſtard diſcretion, the offspring of pique, prejudice, and malice, as uſually occupies the breaſt of a narrow-minded man, who is oppreſſed with a conſciouſneſs of having acted injuriouſly, but wants the ſpirit, candour, and generoſity to make a manly reparation.

More moved than I ought to have been at the paltry intrigues which firſt produced a diviſion in the corps, I once had ſome ſmall ſhare in over-ſtepping what, upon cooler reflection, I thought the bounds of ſtrict decorum towards your Grace. But, did I heſitate a moment in making you a conceſſion?—the conceſſion of a gentleman who, although he could bear, with much indifference, the wrongs of official power, could not ſo eaſily bear any conſciouſneſs of blame in his own breaſt. About the time of the firſt promotion of an inferior officer over my head, in January 1779, I wrote you my thoughts on what had then paſſed. Your Grace anſwered

me,

me. My reply and your rejoinder were as follows:

" My Lord,

" UPON a reconſideration of the regimental " buſineſs of the 17th of December, I am " become of opinion, that *a tranſmiſſion to* " *the Lord Lieutenant* of the officers' ſenti- " ments, as they ſtood worded in their re- " ſolves, was ſomewhat deficient in reſpect. " So far, therefore, as I was a party to that " inadvertency *, (for an incivility was not " intended,) I very readily make your Grace " every conceſſion that can be due from a " gentleman; and on that account I ſhall " alſo forbear to ſay your Grace did wrong in " denying me the Lieutenant Colonel's com- " miſſion. But obſerve, my Lord, I do not " condemn the Reſolutions themſelves, as I " think they were proper; neither do I re- " tract all my opinion in thinking myſelf " injured. I ſtill reſerve to myſelf the liberty " of judging upon every proceeding which

* Although preſent *at* the meeting, the writer was not a member *of* the meeting, as will hereafter appear.

" took

" took place from firſt to laſt, relative to the " matter; and the ſole intention of this let- " ter is to free my own mind and conduct " from every feeling and imputation that " does not meet with my own intire appro- " bation.

" I have the honour to be,
" My Lord,
" Your Grace's
" Moſt obedient,
" Humble ſervant,
" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

" *Marnham*,
" 15th *Feb.* 1779."

" SIR, *Exchequer*, *Feb.* 18, 1779.

" I CANNOT but ſay your letter has " given me *much* ſatisfaction, as I am con- " vinced it proceeds from the conſcious dic- " tates of an honeſt mind. I certainly have " thought myſelf very ill uſed, and I flatter " myſelf I did not deſerve it; and though " you *ſtill* think, Sir, the reſolutions them-

" ſelves

" ſelves were proper, I am happy to find,
" in this unfortunate affair, that you diſclaim
" all intentional incivility to me.

" I am, Sir,

" With great concern,

" Your moſt obedient,

" Humble ſervant,

" NEWCASTLE.

" P. S. I hope (notwithſtanding all this)
" my good *old* friend, your father, will *accept*
" my beſt wiſhes to him."

HERE, my Lord, I will keep my word with you. I will not ſay, that, after my ſhare of the indecorum, ſmall as it was, which I acknowledged, you did wrong *on that occaſion* in not granting me the lieutenant colonelcy. But you muſt permit me, in my own juſtification, to ſay, that the indecorum, ſuch as it was, was the conſequence of having ſeen your Grace at the bottom of the intrigue which I have mentioned, and of a conſciouſneſs in myſelf that I did not merit

the

the ſlight intended to be put upon me. Poſſibly the indecorum that has been mentioned made it neceſſary, in your Grace's judgment, to the vindication of your authority on that occaſion, not to permit my claim to ſucceed, notwithſtanding my juſt pretenſions. But let us ſee if the officer to whom you actually gave the commiſſion, ſtood wholly free from the charge of indecorum. The ſhort hiſtory of the buſineſs is this. In the Autumn of 1778, the lieutenat colonelcy fell vacant; I had not at the time a ſufficient qualification: It having been always underſtood, that it was a point at firſt ſettled and agreed on between your Grace and the late Lord George Sutton, our Colonel, that the regular courſe of promotion, unleſs for demerit, ſhould never be broken; and his lordſhip having been, until that period, uniformly and uncommonly warm in that ſentiment, as eſſential to the good of the ſervice, there was an evident difficulty in the way of introducing any ſtranger over our heads, without giving great diſſatisfaction, and doing a ſerious injury to the public ſervice. Theſe conſiderations, however, did not diſcourage your Grace from the

the undertaking. A plan was formed, and during the abſence of Captain Cooper and myſelf, a meeting of officers was aſſembled on the 13th of November of that year. The proceedings of that meeting are given in the Appendix *. By the concluding part of them, your Grace's deſign was ſufficiently evident. I muſt alſo give you credit for well underſtanding one maxim of policy—divide and conquer. I have ſaid, that on the firſt vacancy of the commiſſion, I had not a ſufficient qualification: I therefore aſpired not to the commiſſion until parental partiality conveyed to me a ſufficient eſtate, with an injunction not to wave my claim †. This being done in good time, in anſwer to the query put to me by the aſſembled officers at

* No. I.

† My firſt knowledge of the matter was communicated in the following ſhort letter from my father:

"The incloſed [Appendix No. 1.] was this morning received from Hull, by which you will ſee what is hatching againſt you in that quarter. On the receipt of this I beg you will return hither immediately, as I will give you ſomething to take with you to Hull, which will inevitably, I hope, ſtop their career, &c. I am, &c."

the regiment, I ſet forth my pretenſions accordingly. It was then ſoon ſeen that ſeniority and ſervice were very ſhadowy claims to promotion, and that the intrigue, for breaking through the rule which had been laid down, was perſiſted in. The commiſſion in queſtion not being offered to me, and the matter being held in ſuſpenſe, to the diſſatisfaction of moſt of the corps, a ſecond meeting of officers, but not at my inſtance, *nor of which I was a member*, although preſent, was aſſembled on the 17th of December, the proceedings of which will alſo be found in the Appendix *. After ſome unpleaſant diſſentions in the corps, the buſineſs ended in the appointment of Captain Nevile to be the lieutenant colonel. Captain Cooper threw up his commiſſion in diſguſt, but deſired to receive intelligence whenever there ſhould be a probability of our having to deal with an enemy. On the threatning appearance of the combined fleet in the channel, he poſted two hundred miles to join us, and did me the honour to take up his abode in my tent. Such, my Lord, were the men

* No. II.

whom

whom your conduct drove out of the ſervice! Lieutenant Colonel Nevile ſerved that campaign, and then reſigned.

Now, my Lord, for *the offence* taken and expreſſed by your Grace at the Regimental Reſolutions of the 17th of December in favour of *my* claim; the *complacency* with which you contemplated the former Reſolutions of the 13th of November, favouring the introduction of your ſon over all our heads; and the *conſiſtency* of that appointment in which the buſineſs ended. By a letter to me, dated the 30th January, 1779, (to which mine of the 15th of February was in reply,) it appears, that your Grace thought the Reſolutions of the 17th of December "highly "impolitic, and *greatly* interfering with the "powers of a Lord Lieutenant;" and you very properly maintain, "that the "power of filling up vacancies in the regi-"ment is veſted in you alone, and not in "the officers ſitting in conſultation among "themſelves." Here I am ready once more to repeat my acknowledgement, that *ſending to the Lord Lieutenant* the Reſolutions of

the 17th of December was an *indecorum*, and ſo far I grant that the officers were "*im-* "*politic;*" but I muſt deny that the Reſolutions themſelves interfered with the power, (by which I mean *the moral and conſtitutional diſcretion*) of the Lord Lieutenant; whereas thoſe of the 13th of November, *to* which I was in no ſenſe a party, (and for which cauſe, therefore, it ſeems they gave you *no offence*,) had very improperly indeed interfered with your authority. I had, it is true, *been merely preſent*, when eighteen other officers of the corps, with a particular reference to my claim of promotion, had joined in ſaying, that where there was no demerit, "all riſe *ought* "to go in the regiment;" whereas Captain Nevile, as *a member* of the meeting of the 13th of November, had concurred in reſolving, *and even without an exception to demerit*, "that all promotion of officers *ſhall* go in "the regiment;" and then, with perfect conſiſtency, but at the ſame time paſſing by all authority and all diſcretion whatever in the Lord Lieutenant, proceeds to join in another reſolution, declaring, That in caſe the Major and eldeſt Captain ſhall not qualify, "the

"lieutenant

" lieutenant colonelcy will then *devolve* to " Captain Nevile." If that gentleman ever made your Grace an apology for ſuch his *unqualified invaſion of your diſcretionary power*, (which I never heard of his doing) *his* forgiveneſs was ſoon ſealed. Not ſo that of him who, although not even, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a party in the act, yet nevertheleſs did apologize for a mere indecorum, which he barely (from a ſenſe of ill treatment) *did not uſe means to prevent.* How amiable all this conſiſtency of conduct! How noble this proud integrity in the diſcharge of official duties!

Nota bene, by way of Poſtſcript to the foregoing Narrative. In a converſation but a few months or weeks prior to theſe tranſactions, I was aſſured by the Colonel, in the preſence of two other officers, that *in caſe any thing ſhould happen to Lord Lincoln, it was a point ſettled between the Duke of Newcaſtle and him, that I was to ſucceed to the lieutenant colonelcy.* The converſation referred to, was on the ſubject of the propoſed advancement of Enſigns Sutton and Byron to higher commiſſions, on which the Colonel

aſked my opinion. I endeavoured to perſuade him from recommending them, on the ſolid ground of their being children incapable of performing even the duties of their inferior commiſſions, and therefore by no means intitled to riſe by ſeniority until a little more age had cured that defect. In anſwer, the colonel declared, that "if the "rule was once broke through, there would "be an end to all emulation, and the regi-"ment would be ruined; that, as Colonel, "it was incumbent on him to ſtand up "for the rights of the corps; and that, not-"withſtanding the Major's objections, which "were ſtrong ones, as he himſelf thought "the rule with regard to promotion was of "the firſt importance to the regiment, he "muſt act according to his own judgment, "&c." How your Grace's notions and mine on *the conſtitutional diſcretion* of a Lord Lieutenant are ſeen to differ! Theſe youths, to whom I thought it *an indulgence* to hold the commiſſions of *Enſigns*, you appointed *Lieutenants;* doubtleſs agreeing with the Colonel in the *ſacredneſs of the rule* on which their pretenſions ſtood.

But

But at a very early period your attention to the honour of the corps, and your inviolable attachment *to rule* in granting commiſſions had been diſplayed. Having laid it down *as a rule*, that, in order to avoid giving offence, the original commiſſions ſhould be diſpoſed of in regular order, according to the priority of the offers of ſervice in each rank reſpectively, you perſiſted in giving a commiſſion to a worthleſs fellow, notwithſtanding *I had informed you of his character*.

The fellow afterwards reſigned his commiſſion, to avoid the diſgrace awaiting him for a deſertion of his duty in a time of danger.

Deſpairing of ever being able to do juſtice to your ſteady adherence to the rule of regular ſucceſſion, with theſe remarks I ſhall diſmiſs the account of the firſt inſtance in which I was ſet aſide. Not that there is not matter enough behind for a volume, but to the public the tale muſt be too diſguſting to read, as it would be to me to relate.

I have ſaid that Lieutenant Colonel Nevile

ſerved

ſerved in that capacity one campaign, and then reſigned. To the beſt of my recollection, he quitted camp a day or two before the regiment went into winter quarters; but I think his reſignation did not take place till late in the ſpring of 1780. The preciſe time is of no conſequence. Your Grace, who, as it has appeared, had relinquiſhed your firſt attempt at introducing Lord John Clinton, having however ſucceeded in deſtroying the regimental harmony, and in a precedent alſo for treating the rank, pretenſions, feelings, and characters of officers with unfeeling contempt, no longer reſorted to ſecret manœuvres for affecting your purpoſe, but, without ceremony, appointed his Lordſhip to the vacant commiſſion. He joined the regiment, incamped near Darking, in Auguſt 1780, did a few weeks duty, and was never, as I think, preſent with the corps again.

In the ſummer of 1781, the Colonel in a letter to the Adjutant deſired he would inform the corps, then encamped near Goſport, that the Lieutenant-Colonel (Lord John Clinton) had expreſſed an intention of reſigning; mentioning

mentioning at the ſame time the name of a gentleman, not in the regiment, who had ſolicited to ſucceed him. The Colonel, however, thinking it unreaſonable, oppoſed the nomination, " and recommended the appointment " to go in the corps by ſeniority." On the 19th of June I wrote to your Grace as follows:

" My Lord,

" AS Lord George Sutton has directed the " Adjutant to inquire what officers of the " corps were qualified for the Lieutenant-" Colonelcy, and would be ready to ſerve as " ſuch provided there were a vacancy; and " as his Lordſhip, in a letter to another gentle-" man, has, to my ſurprize, ſignified that he " has been informed by my family, that I " have not put in my claim, by which I con-" ceive he means that I have waved my pre-" tenſions to it, I take the liberty of troubling " your Grace with a line, in order to prevent " a poſſibility of any miſunderſtanding or " miſtake reſpecting my ſentiments.

" I have only to ſay, that Lord George's " ſuppoſed information from my family muſt

" be ſome error; for ever ſince I was firſt " qualified to hold the commiſſion of Lieute- " nant-Colonel, I never entertained an idea of " waving ſuch pretenſion as my rank and " conduct in the regiment could be ſuppoſed " to give me, for ſucceeding to it whenever " vacant.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT,

" Major to the N. M."

" Camp, near *Goſport*,
" 19 *June*, 1781."

To this letter I do not find amongſt my papers any anſwer; nor do I remember to have received one. Suffice it to ſay, that in February 1782, Mr. Gould joined the regiment as Lieutenant-Colonel. This gentleman had ſerved in the army, which he had quitted ſome time before with the rank of Lieutenant. By the appointment now ſpoken of, your Grace drove out of the regiment another Captain, whoſe indignant feelings would not permit him to ſerve under ſuch treatment; and who had too high a ſenſe of honour to liſten to intimations which had been made to himſelf

ſelf—not perſonally to your Grace—that if he would apply for the commiſſion over my head, it would be given him. I ſpeak, as your Grace knows, of Captain Sherbrooke; of whom I muſt hereafter ſay one word more.

In conſequence, my Lord, of the new appointment, I wrote to you again. The copy in my hands is without date, and if in any other reſpect it be incorrect your Grace perhaps can ſet me right. It runs thus:

" My Lord,

" AS it is now the third time within about " three years, that a Lieutenant-Colonel has " been put over my head; and as ſo marked " a ſlight on the part of your Grace, cannot " but occaſion ſome concluſion, or at leaſt " ſome ſuſpicion to the diſadvantage of my " character, I am to requeſt, my Lord, that " you will be kind enough to favour me with " the reaſons for the ſame. If I knew why " your Grace thought me the only officer in " the regiment undeſerving of promotion " when vacancies happened, I might hope to

" have it in my power to remove the cauſe;
" either by explaining any thing that has
" been miſunderſtood, or by altering ſuch
" parts of my conduct as may juſtly have
" deprived me of your opinion.

" If any thing in my character as a man,
" an officer, or a ſubject, has ſhewn me to be
" unfit for a higher truſt in the militia than
" that which I have poſſeſſed for theſe ſix
" years and a half paſt, I intreat your Grace
" to ſhew ſo much candour and generoſity as
" to mention it. As often as an opportunity
" may offer of repeating the ſame ſlight,
" which on every ſuch occaſion I muſt feel
" as an intended chaſtiſement for ſomewhat
" in which I have given offence, it may poſ-
" ſibly, my Lord, be right, that your Grace's
" power, as Lord Lieutenant, ſhould be ſo
" exerciſed; but being ſure it cannot be right
" that any man, how guilty ſoever, ſhould not
" only be publickly, but repeatedly puniſhed
" without knowing his crime, I muſt, for the
" ſake of that reſpect which I conceive is
" owing to the corps I ſerve in, and the
" county I ſerve for, once more intreat your

" Grace

" Grace to let me know in what regard I
" have ſhewn myſelf unworthy of a higher
" commiſſion, without having ſhewn myſelf
" at the ſame time undeſerving of my pre-
" ſent one. But if your Grace, by paſſing
" over me in three promotions, have intended
" to hint this to me, I can only ſay in return,
" that I have not yet been able ſo to apply
" the hint, as to excite in my mind any con-
" ſciouſneſs that it is time I reſigned the ma-
" jority; which you may be aſſured, my
" Lord, I ſhall do, the moment I ſhall learn
" that your Grace has had a juſt and ſuffi-
" cient cauſe for not offering me the Lieute-
" nant-Colonelcy when it was vacant.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" JOHN CARTWRIGHT."

To this expoſtulation, I received the following anſwer:

" *Clumber, March 3d*, 1782.

" SIR,

" AS Lord-Lieutenant of the county of
" Nottingham, I look upon myſelf to be

" accountable to nobody but his Majeſty, " for my recommendations of officers, to " ſerve in the Nottinghamſhire regiment of " militia.

" I am, SIR,

" Your moſt obedient,

" humble ſervant,

" NEWCASTLE."

In theſe epiſtles, the characteriſtic features of a *democrat* and an *ariſtocrat* will, no doubt, be diſcerned. The former, ungrateful for the paſt benefits of good government, refractory, audacious, and inſolently hinting at rights; the latter, mild, paternal, and expreſſive, not only of the moſt tender regard to equity in the exerciſe of authority, but of a generous ſympathy in the feelings of thoſe affected by it.

I come next, my Lord, to notice the vacancy for Colonel which happened, as I think, in December 1782. Being then, by an acceſſion of property, qualified to hold that commiſſion, I ſoon after regiſtered a qualification accordingly. The ſame day, in order

order to guard againſt the poſſibility of ignorance of that event, I informed your Grace of the ſame by letter. Here again I entered with as much temper as before into expoſtulations on paſt occurrences; taking, in particular, ſome notice of an uncharitable ſuggeſtion which I know to have come from one, differing with me in politics as fire with water, that in caſe I ſhould be nominated to a higher commiſſion, the appointment would not be confirmed by his Majeſty. Amongſt other things I obſerved, that I was not conſcious of having ſhewn myſelf to his Majeſty, or to my country, in any other light than that of a good ſubject, a faithful adviſer, and a zealous promoter of the true welfare of both; and that I would uſe my endeavours to diſcover whether the King did or did not think of me as has been inſinuated. And I concluded with obſerving, that it could not be agreeable to any man, acting zealouſly for the beſt intereſts for his King and country, to experience either through inattention or miſapprehenſion the treatment due only to enemies.

What I have preſerved, being only the firſt rough draught of my thoughts, it is not in my power to give an exact copy of the letter. If I have miſtated its contents, your Grace will pleaſe to ſet me right.

In anſwer I received the following note:

" *Exchequer*, 13th *January*, 1783.

" THE Duke of Newcaſtle's compliments " to Major Cartwright, was much ſurprized " at his very *extraordinary* letter; after what " had paſſed between them, in regard to pro- " motion in the Nottinghamſhire regiment " of militia, he could not have thought to " have *any further applications from him* on " that ſubject."

Which was the moſt *extraordinary*; my patience under injuries, or the little ceremony with which they were heaped upon me; is now ſubmitted to the judgment of the public.

The vacancy now ſpoken of was filled, by the honourable Henry Willoughby, who reſigned it again laſt ſummer. But before his appoint-

appointment, overtures were once more made to Mr. Sherbrooke, whom I have already mentioned to have been driven out of the regiment in diſguſt at your arbitrary proceedings, when a Captain. To him was again offered the Lieutenant Colonelcy. As before he ſpurned at the offer.—What, my Lord, not content with inſulting me as an officer, with meanly cheating me of an object of honeſt ambition; and, through ſo many denials of promotion, ſtriking at my very character; but muſt you aſſail me even in my friend! Muſt his integrity be corrupted! muſt his honour be ſtained! and conſciouſneſs of baſeneſs attend him to the grave, rather than that I ſhould not receive a mortification. Fie! Fie!—Had you ſucceeded there, you had conquered me indeed. You had effectually driven me from the corps. It had been a ſtab I could not have reſiſted. Where is the man, capable of daily beholding one whom once he honoured, fallen from the dignity of virtue, and the nobility of friendſhip! My nerves had been unequal to the taſk. But, thank God, the friendſhips of my life have ever been with men of principle. The circle indeed is ſmall; but it is a circle, under

which I entertain no apprehenſion of ever being deſerted or betrayed.

If, my Lord, you can comprehend my feelings on this occaſion, you will learn that no part of your conduct towards me, ever beyond a moment excited my anger. I never complimented you with the name of enemy; which includes ſome idea of equality and fair fighting. And amongſt the mixed emotions of my mind, you may be aſſured, that compaſſion has ever been a principal ſentiment.

Being now come down, my Lord, to a period which extends ſomewhat lower than the end of the war, let us look back awhile. May I here aſk, what part of my regimental conduct it was that rendered me thus unfit for higher rank? Was it that I had been at different times collectively, longer commanding officer of the regiment than any other perſon, that I wanted the neceſſary experience? Was it that my abſences from the regiment had been ſo rare, and of ſo ſhort duration, that I could not be expected to give due attendance? Or, was it becauſe, while the Lieute-

nant Colonelcy was in the hands of your two ſons, whoſe joint attendance did not exceed many weeks in two years and a half of the war, that I had done during the long remainder of that time double duty, that I had no claim whatever upon the gratitude of power?—Perhaps thoſe gad-fly gentry ſo honourably mentioned by the eloquent Erſkine at the laſt Aſſizes at Nottingham *, had teazed you into fretfulneſs at the very mention of my name: Perhaps certain commiſſioned gentry † whom, as an officer and a gentleman I was compelled to try by martial law, *and who therefore found countenance elſewhere*, had convinced you of my unworthineſs. Were either of theſe the cauſes of your conduct, or was it true, as ſome imagined, that what you found not in your own breaſt you could not conceive to exiſt in any other; and that it was not in your nature ever to forgive him whom you had once injured?

Here, my Lord, my readers, notwithſtanding the evidence already adduced, may,

* See the Newark Herald of 21ſt March, 1792.

† Since ſuperſeded as unworthy to rank amongſt gentlemen.

perhaps, form different opinions. Some may think with your Grace, that if you diſliked my political principles, that alone gave you a right to treat me as you have done. Some, perhaps, may ſide with the writer, and condemn your conduct as partial and oppreſſive. And others again may imagine, that, independent of politics, there muſt have been ſome defects or miſbehaviour on my part as an officer, or a man, that, if known, would juſtify all your proceedings towards me. If ſuch cauſe exiſted, I call upon you to produce it. It is due to your own character to make it known. This call has been either expreſſed, or implied, many different times. The ſingle inſtance, however, which I have already produced ought to have ſufficed. An uniform denial of promotion for thirteen years is an implied cenſure of no ſmall magnitude. It muſt be repelled by ſuch evidence and argument as I have to produce. In way of argument, I ſhall only ſay, that if any colourable charge to my diſadvantage as an officer could have been brought forward, it is not very credible that it ſhould never have been attempted.

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Here it is proper to take ſome notice of rumours once circulated in the county. In December 1781, an officer, on returning to quarters from the county, aſſerted to me, in the preſence of Captain Sherbrooke and another gentleman, that your Grace had made to him certain declarations of your opinions on my conduct, in bringing to trial an officer who has already been alluded to; which opinions, if actually entertained, I know to be utterly unfounded and injurious to my honour; I thereupon wrote your Grace a very long letter on the ſubject. In this letter, I ſtated how openly your Grace's name had been mentioned, as taking under your immediate protection one lying under no very trifling accuſations, and ſo mentioned by that man himſelf; and of your having threatened me, his proſecutor, with the loſs of my commiſſion; and I obſerved, that "I could not "for the ſake of your Grace's honour, can-"dour, juſtice, and generoſity, give credit to "a tittle of ſuch indecent aſſertions." I alſo preſſed you to inform me, if you had made declarations ſuch as had been reported to me, and what was your authority. I appealed to your juſtice, and challenged inquiry "in the

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" face of day, that I might not ſuffer in my " reputation by the aſſaſſin arts of the ſecret " and cowardly calumniator." The anſwer was from your Secretary, who, after apologizing for your not writing on account of indiſpoſition, ſays, " I am commanded to write " that his Grace never ſaw Capt. —— in his " life, nor ever ſaid he would defray the ex- " pence of the trial, nor thought of ſuperſeding " you for the part you had acted, &c.— " and that he is ſurprized a perſon of your " ſenſe and knowledge of mankind ſhould " give one moment's credit to ſuch tales, &c." The remainder of this letter, ſhewing chiefly how your ſon, while preſent with the regiment, had become the dupe of a wretch who was a diſgrace to ſociety, I ſhall not quote, that I may not be obliged to remark upon it; becauſe the knowledge that your Grace ſince obtained of that wretch's worthleſs character, makes it unneceſſary.

But I wiſh not to reſt my vindication upon the difficulty of ſupporting legal charges againſt me; for well do I remember the indignant remark of General Calcraft, on the

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ſentence pronounced by the *ſecond* Court-Martial, before which, the worthleſs man juſt ſpoken of was brought to trial for diſgraceful crimes;—" that nothing ſhort of murder " could break an officer of militia." I am contented to reſt my reputation on *the opinion* of my brother officers convened for the purpoſe. Let them tell your Grace, or the world, if at any time, or in any inſtance during the war, I were not as prompt to obey, as ready to exact obedience; if, either in matters of ſervice or indulgence, I were a reſpecter of perſons, or a retailer of partial favours; if either ſeverity of command, or laxity of diſcipline could be imputed to me; if by a ſingle act of intemperance, one immoral diſcourſe, or a vicious example, I ever weakened in the mind of the ſoldier a reſpect for the character of officers, or contributed to contaminate the morals of the youths bearing commiſſions in the regiments. Let them alſo ſay, if on any occaſion I thwarted through pique the meaſures of others, or betrayed an indifference to the honour and reputation of a regiment from which my perſonal friends had been driven in diſguſt, and in which I had received ſuch unmerited ill treatment. Some

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of them can remember that, even under ſuch grating circumſtances, I laboured, in 1779, to introduce a ſuperior mode of training to that in uſe; and that, in 1780, I endeavoured to bring into uſe unpremeditated manœuvres ariſing from the nature of the ground, and beſt calculated for qualifying the troops to act with confidence and effect in the face of an enemy: and they can likewiſe inform you, that, in conſequence of thoſe unhappy diviſions which grew out of the original intrigue againſt me, theſe efforts for the good of the public ſervice were quaſhed by ſuperior authority *. It is for thoſe particular officers whom it concerns, alſo to ſay, whether it was my cuſtom to ſign any kind of regimental account or report, without knowing the truth of its contents; or if I ſhuffled off the duties of inveſtigation to any inferior. I never, my Lord, was in the habit of putting my ſignature to the lower corners of blank ſheets of paper by dozens, as I once ſaw done by an auditor of national money accounts. Whe-

* I muſt do Colonel Gould the juſtice to ſay, that ſince he has been in the regiment, I never experienced any thing of this kind; but on the contrary, an invariably polite attention.

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ther thoſe ſheets were to be filled afterwards with his own private accounts, or with thoſe entruſted by the nation to his audit, I ſay not. I ſpeak only to the fact of *the blank ſheets of paper ſigned at the lower corners*, of which I ſaw a pile, and ſome of them ſigned in my preſence, and then, one by one, formed into another pile on the floor. The circumſtance, unimportant as it might be, made upon my mind that kind of impreſſion, which wears not away but with the faculty of memory itſelf.

For the mention of this anecdote I ſhall not be charged with a breach of confidence, when I ſay, that with the perſon alluded to my buſineſs was merely official, and I was by no means in habits of confidence. Neither can it be alledged that it was a breach of hoſpitality; for ſo little cordial had been my reception, that, in the courſe of the converſation, I was aſked, if I were not a republican. This I conceived, in the ſenſe of the ſpeaker, to be nearly equivalent to aſking, if I were not the devil; but I felt it, nevertheleſs, as a real, though undeſigned, compliment: for I well knew the unceaſing but ſilly arts which commenced at the Reſtoration, to pervert

that ſound, *conſtitutional* word into a term of reproach; and that, by courtiers, it was generally applied to thoſe who were more eminently the friends of freedom, as being free from faction; whom of all men they moſt wiſhed to ſtigmatiſe as enemies to government. But if your Grace ſhould ſtill entertain doubts as to the true meaning of the word, I muſt refer you to the ſtatute-book, and to ſpeeches from the Throne *before Cromwell was born.* There, if you meet not often with the word itſelf, you will frequently find its *ſynonime*, and read of the *Commonwealth* of England. And when his Majeſty ſpeaks of protecting the liberties of his people, and of watching over our excellent conſtitution; which being a conſtitution embracing king, lords, and *commons*, and conſequently the *public's* in the fulleſt ſenſe of the word; what are theſe but republican principles; and what is a king, having theſe objects at heart, but a republican?—But let us return from this digreſſion.

Having already made my appeal to the officers with whom I lived, and who conſequently were daily witneſſes to the minutiæ of my conduct; I muſt now ſee if I cannot,

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out of the regiment, produce ſome evidence to prove, that, in a more inlarged ſphere of action, I never diſgraced that commiſſion with which I was intruſted.

His Grace the Duke of Northumberland is the firſt to whom I ſhall refer. Aſk him, my Lord, if a bare cold performance of regimental duty was my characteriſtic. On more points than one we had ſome ſmall correſpondence; but the defence of a ſea-port of great trade, while I was commanding officer of the regiment, was the principal ſubject. His ſenſe of my conduct will beſt appear in his own words. From a letter to me, dated November 15, 1778, the following is an extract: "I beg leave to aſſure you, that I have a "ſingular pleaſure in having it in my power "to ſhew any attention to an officer, whoſe "aſſiduity ever ſince he has been under my "command, does him the higheſt honour.

"I am,

"Sir, &c.

"PERCY."

Were General Monkton now living, I could call for his teſtimonials too, that my notions of duty, as an officer in the ſervice of my country, were not circumſcribed within the narrow limits of regimental ſervices. On the rejection in my own regiment in 1779, of the new mode of training I had propoſed, the ſyſtem in manuſcript, with plans, was ſubmitted to the General, for the ſatisfaction of my own mind. Charged as he then was with the government of the firſt garriſon in the kingdom, and with the army which covered Portſmouth, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he had leiſure for paying much attention to ſuch a work. He nevertheleſs did me the honour to look into the manuſcript; on the return of which I received the following note:

"LIEUTENANT GENERAL MONKTON
"preſents his compliments to Major Cart-
"wright, returns him his book with many
"thanks. The General has not been able
"to give it the attention it merits, but thinks
"it contains many things, which, if adopted,
"might be of benefit to the ſervice.
"*Portſmouth, 2d Nov.* 1779."

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The manuſcript was then an unfiniſhed work, and the ſyſtem of courſe not quite complete. The laſt hand hath not yet even been put to it; but if no one elſe ſhould get the ſtart of me, and I ſhould ever find leiſure for ſuch an employment, it is ſtill my deſign to complete and publiſh it. On other points too I could have confidently referred you to that general officer. On one in particular, not known to many beſide himſelf; but it was known, however, to men whoſe ſentiments will command reſpect.

Although, my Lord, the good fortune of England during the late war, in eſcaping an invaſion, deprived her militia of the honour of bleeding in her defence, yet there were not wanting ſome critical opportunities to its officers of ſhewing attention to the public ſafety, ſufficient to manifeſt, that they were not wholly incapable of performing their duty, nor unmindful of the high truſt repoſed in them: And it is with a ſatisfaction of which no perſonalities can deprive me, that I can claim to have ſhared in thoſe attentions. At a criſis of no ſmall alarm, when the combined fleet

was in the Channel, immenſely ſuperior to Sir Charles Hardy—this great force between him and Portſmouth—Spithead open to their entrance—the Iſle of Wight at their mercy, and in other reſpects a ſhameful want of ſecurity in that important quarter being viſible;—at this criſis, my Lord, having ſome little knowledge of naval affairs, and conceiving an idea of combining defenſive operations by ſea and land which might fruſtrate the enemy, although their apparent ſtrength had been accompanied by ſuch ability and ſuch a ſpirit of enterpriſe, as to have produced, during the abſence of our fleet, *a certain manœuvre, which, if ſucceſsful, might have ſtruck ſome terror into this country*, I employed, with the General's permiſſion, a day in reconnoitering, and at my return preſented him with a plan of defence. It was ſubmitted to the conſideration of Admiral Pye, who did not do me the honour to confer with me on the ſubject, and who pleaded to the General for not co-operating with him on the principles of the plan, a reaſon which, *upon examination*, did not appear to me to be well founded. As the General's own obſervations

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to me were verbal, I ſhall not repeat them; but if your Grace ſhould have any curioſity on the ſubject, it is in my power to refer you to two officers now living, who are not without ſome ſkill in theſe matters, and whoſe teſtimony, if it ſhould agree, might be thought ſomewhat remarkable; I mean Colonel Debbieg and the Duke of Richmond. The Colonel, to whom, at Chatham, in 1782, I ſubmitted the plan, did afterwards invite me, in return, to peruſe one for the ſame purpoſe which he had then formed, acknowledging at the ſame time, that mine was the baſis of his, and what particularly led him to a conſideration of the ſubject. The Duke, in November 1779, had been pleaſed to notice my plan by letter in the following very flattering terms:

" I AM very much obliged to you for the
" very ingenious and noble plan you have
" ſent me for the defence of Portſmouth,
" which, for the moſt part, as well as your
" reaſonings on the ſubject, intirely coincide
" with my ideas. Portſmonth, as well as
" Plymouth,

" Plymouth, will be beſt defended by,
" &c. &c. &c."

It was thus, my Lord, that the proſcribed Major was wont, as an officer, to conduct himſelf; and ſuch were the men who honoured him with tokens of their eſteem. Between the feelings of this officer, in thus diſcharging with anxiety the duties of fidelity to his country, and the feelings of that Lord Lieutenant who abuſed the truſt repoſed in him, and has continued for thirteen years a mean perſecution of the man he dares not charge with blame or unworthineſs;—between the widely different feelings of theſe men, judge, my Lord, if you can.

But, if not my military, but my *political* conduct was the ſole ground of your Grace's treatment, I ſhall again appeal to the ſame nobleman, now a cabinet miniſter, who, I believe, did me even the honour to make favourable mention of my name in his place in parliament, when he introduced the beſt propoſal for reforming the repreſentation of

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this country that has yet been ſubmitted to legiſlative conſideration; and who, in the moſt eſſential part of his conduct, ran the ſame courſe with myſelf. But I can make a yet higher appeal: I can appeal to *the Britiſh nation*; in whoſe ſervice, as a ſincere friend to its liberties and its conſtitution, I have not been inactive. In a courſe of many years, and in many eſſays that I have publiſhed, I can boldly challenge even malice itſelf to point out a ſingle deviation from the true principles of the conſtitution, a ſingle act, or a ſingle ſentiment, that has marked me as a partizan of any faction, either in or out of place, or that could bring me under ſuſpicion of wanting attachment to what *ought to be* the government of this country, againſt *what it is*, ſo far as concerns the people's ſhare of it. I confeſs that what I have written has been, what ſome would call one continued libel, and the greateſt of libels becauſe it was true. Even amongſt our reformers I have never deſerted *principle*; I have always ſteered clear of *party*; and ſupported no intereſts but the intereſts of truth,

juſtice, and freedom. It has been my reproach, that I was ſo immovably rivetted to the abſtract perfection of our conſtitution, that I obſtructed the ſyſtems for *gradually aboliſhing* the abuſes of repreſentation. That, in conjunction with a Jebb, a Lofft, a Sharp, a Batley, a Martin, and many others, I did, in all ſeaſons, (as I think,) *prudently* contend for *the conſtitution itſelf*, inſtead of this man's fancy or that man's conceit, is now a ſatisfaction to me that would be ill exchanged for all the coronets upon earth, and a ſhield which no dart your Grace can invent for wounding my political character will be able to penetrate.

Nor need I, my Lord, ſtop here; for I can farther appeal to both *Britain* and *America*. While ſtateſmen and orators concerned themſelves little farther about *America*, than as furniſhing pretences under which they covered their own contention for power; and while with them all turned upon *ſtate expediency*—that offſpring of hell—it was my employment to ſhew, that taxing *America*

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by the Britiſh Commons, was unconſtitutional; that coercion was tyranny; and that a voluntary grant of independence would be our greateſt wiſdom. Before *America* claimed her independence, I aſſerted her title to it; and the popoſal *prior to the ſpilling of a drop of blood*, of *An Independent Fœderal League*, was mine. What this ſingle, healing, ſalutary meaſure, continuing the profits and bleſſings of peace, ſaving near two hundred millions of treaſure, and preventing the effuſion of blood would have effected, is now ſufficiently known. It was, however, liable to one objection, which, until pointed out to me by a Preſident of Congreſs, I had not ſeen in its full force: "It would have rendered the fœderated "countries too ſtrong for the repoſe of the "reſt of the world."

On humbler ground, too, I am not without evidence, that where the public good was concerned, I have ever been ready to promote it. To every ſucceſſive adminiſtration, from the year 1771 to the preſent time, I have invariably communicated the plan for diſ-

poſing of the Royal foreſts, which will be found in the Appendix *.

From a voluminous Report of a Committee of the Houſe of Commons in 1771, on the ſubjects of foreſts and timber, and of reſtraining the Eaſt-India company in the ſize of their ſhips, it had appeared, that a want of national timber was to be apprehended; that depredation, abuſe, and incroachment, were daily leſſening not only the timber of the foreſts, but the property of the public in the foreſts themſelves; that full-grown oaks, ſtems, limbs, branches, to the very faggot-ſtuff, *ſometimes diſappeared in the courſe of one night*; and that all the expenſive attempts *under acts of Parliament and the ſervants of the Crown*, to effect a profitable cultivation of oak, had uniformly proved in the end viſionary project or lucrative jobs; for want of its being made men's wiſdom to be honeſt, and for want of *a ſelf-inforcing principle* in the plans capable of counteracting the ſapping

* No. III.

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and undermining influence of private intereſt, or the deſtructive effects of future indifference and neglect. To obviate theſe inconveniences was the object of the plan. Its merits in that, and in other reſpects, are now left for the public to decide on. Many *private* perſons have thought well of it. The ſentiments of *official* men have never been made known to me. It was ſhewn, by the deſire of a friend, many years ago, to Dr. Douglaſs, ſo eminent for ability and literature, and now one of the ornaments of the epiſcopal bench. When the writer aſked his opinion of it, his anſwer was, "I fear we are not now-a-days "honeſt enough for ſuch plans."

I ſhall only mention two inſtances more, my Lord, in matters connected with my original profeſſion, wherein I have endeavoured to render myſelf ſervicable to the public. One was, in offering a plan for raiſing the Royal George; of which the firſt Lord of the Admiralty obſerved to the Duke of Richmond, that, in his judgment, it appeared to be the beſt which had been tendered. I afterwards heard that ſome objections were ſtarted

ſtarted to it when read in the Dock-yard, upon which, with many others, it was laid aſide. But what plan, for ſuch a purpoſe, ſtruck out in a few hours on the firſt ſpur of the occaſion, could be free from defect? I had not indeed offered it as perfect, but merely as containing the great principle of the operation, and the outline of the execution. If theſe were comprehended, I ſuppoſed that I might be applied to for removing apparent difficulties. Having in view neither job nor reward, I merely tranſmitted it to government without preſſing it upon official attention; and, by the countenance afterwards given to the ſcheme of an adventurer, whoſe propoſed power bore no ſort of proportion to mine, I ſuppoſed it might be this cauſe that conſigned my plan, and perhaps ſtill better ones, to neglect. I mean no reflections upon the Dock officers, whoſe duties, I dare ſay, left them not time for diſcuſſing a tenth part of the plans ſubmitted to them. The error, I think, was in the ſuperior board, who ſhould not have impoſed ſuch an extra taſk upon men who had already more than enough upon their hands; but ought to

have collected a ſmall number of mathematical men, engineers, and diſtinguiſhed mechanics, for examining and reporting upon ſuch plans as might come before them.

The other inſtance, was, in propoſing a mode, explained by drawings, for the taking, in a few ſeconds, at any time of the day, plans of two hoſtile fleets, while manœuvering or engaging, ſo as to be able to lay before government or the public, a ſtate of facts ſufficiently correct for every neceſſary purpoſe, particularly on the trials of admirals. The great confuſion and uncertainty thrown over the trials of Byng, of Mathews and Leſtock, and of Keppel and Palliſer, have ſufficiently ſhewn the want of ſuch a plan. This laſt, finiſhed haſtily, was ſent to a ſea-officer then commanding in chief; but I know not his thoughts of it.

Whether theſe ſeveral plans, or any of them, have any intrinſic value, is not the queſtion: Neither is it to the point, whether any exertions on an object of infinitely more importance have been wiſely or unwiſely directed.

rected. They are only mentioned merely to ſhew, that the author of them was ſo far from being unworthy of all truſt or encouragement, or hoſtile to the public intereſts, as your Grace's treatment of him tended to inſinuate, that, unſolicited, unemployed, unpaid, and, in ſome inſtances, at great labour and expence to himſelf, as well as to the neglect of his private affairs, he has long and frequently laboured as a volunteer to promote various public objects, and the beſt intereſts of his King and country. Ill would it become him to ſpeak of theſe things did he not ſtand, by implication, in the ſituation of an accuſed perſon; and accuſed of wanting fidelity where he truſts that he has particularly given of it the moſt convincing proofs. Will your Grace be pleaſed to inform the public of *your* voluntary and *unpaid* ſervices? Being now, in your turn, the accuſed; charged with abuſing a public truſt for private malice, or for ſome cauſe you dare not name, it will be no violation of modeſty to produce them.

Having thus cleared the way, it is full time that we come to your Grace's laſt proceed-

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ings againſt me, viz. your giving, in September laſt, to a Captain in the regiment the Lieutenant Colonel's commiſſion; and your attempt, at the ſame time, to ſuperſede me, by the actual appointment of another Major. It is in the firſt of theſe caſes that I charge you with having acted diſhonourably; and in the laſt with having proceeded illegally. I ſhall alſo ſhew that the *motive* avowed for ſetting me aſide was *unconſtitutional*. Let my witneſſes ſpeak for themſelves.

Nottingham, 29th May, 1791.

" DEAR SIR,

" I AM extremely ſorry to hear the acci-
" dent you have met with is the cauſe of
" our not having the pleaſure of ſeeing
" you, &c. &c.

" I received a letter yeſterday from the
" Duke of Newcaſtle, informing me Colonel
" Willoughby had reſigned the regiment, and
" that his Grace intended me the honour,
" on his Majeſty's approbation, to ſucceed
" him. I flatter myſelf you will accept the

" lieutenant-colonelcy; which the Duke pro-
" miſed me in the winter you ſhould ſucceed
" to *, &c. &c.

" I remain, dear Sir,
" Your moſt obedient
" Humble ſervant,
" E. T. GOULD,
" Lieut. Col. Nott. Militia.

" To
" Major Cartwright."

In the year 1778, it was only it ſeems, *ſettled between your Grace and Lord George Sutton*, that I was to ſucceed; but here, my Lord, on the evidence of a man of honour, is eſtabliſhed a direct *promiſe*.

" *Cottingham, Aug.* 10*th* 1791.
" DEAR BROTHER,
" I THIS day received a meſſage from
" the Duke of Newcaſtle, through Mr. Jack-

* If I were in any degree indebted to the interference of Colonel Gould for this promiſe, I ſhould be glad to know it, and to acknowledge ſuch a mark of his attention.

" ſon,

" ſon, to inform me, that as you had attended " the Revolution dinner of the 13th ultimo, " he could not, conſiſtently with his political " principles, promote you to the vacant Lieu- " tenant-Colonelcy of the Nottinghamſhire " Militia; and therefore, as he wiſhed not " to have any correſpondence with you on " the ſubject, he requeſted of me to commu- " nicate his determination to you. This " being the caſe, I preſume you will reſign " immediately.

" Your affectionate brother,

" GEORGE CARTWRIGHT."

Reſign! No, my good brother, nothing like it. It is more agreeable to me to make knaves wince under my correction, than laugh at my pettiſh folly.

And ſo your Grace was heartily tired of my *correſpondence*. I ſincerely believe it. How unfortunate you are! The more pains you take to get rid of me and my correſpondence, the cloſer I ſtick to you, and the more I peſter you!

Extract from the London Gazette, from Saturday Nov. 19th to Tuesday Nov. 22d, 1791.

" Commiſſions in the Nottinghamſhire Re-
" giment, by the Lord Lieutenant.

" Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Thoroton
" Gould, to be Colonel, vice the Honoura-
" ble Henry Willoughby, reſigned. Dated
" June 22, 1791.

" Thomas Charlton the younger, Eſq. to
" be Lieutenant-Colonel. Dated Septem-
" ber 13th, 1791.

" Auguſtus Parkyns, Eſq. to be Major.
" Dated September 13th, 1791.

" Samuel Wright, Eſq. to be Captain. Dated
" May 12th, 1791.

" Henry Coape, Eſq. to be Captain. Dated
" September 13th, 1791."

You know, my Lord, that on the firſt vacancy for a ſuperior commiſſion, above thirteen years ago, I regiſtered the neceſſary qualification; and that, after the deceaſe of my father, I likewiſe regiſtered a qualification for

for ſerving as Colonel. Your Grace alſo knows that I have more than once, in order to counteract miſtake, report, or trick, written to yourſelf, to ſhew my readineſs to ſerve in a higher capacity.

Now, my Lord, I muſt requeſt to be informed, how my dining at the Crown and Anchor tavern on the 14th of July laſt, abſolved you from your *promiſe* to me, made through Colonel Gould? After all that I have related, doubly ſacred ought that particular promiſe to have been held. Does your Grace recollect that in a Peer's honour is included even his religion? When others depoſe on oath, he declares on his honour; which is held equivalent to calling God to witneſs his veracity. But where the nobility of moral principle is wanting, in vain ſhall we call on artificial nobility to fill its place. It is but too manifeſt, that the promiſe in queſtion was the mere effect of ſhame for paſt conduct, and not of any regard to juſtice; and prompt indeed muſt you have been to break it, when you did it on a pretext, which proves only, that a native love of tyranny was ſufficient in a moment to obliterate in your

your mind a ſenſe of moral obligation. But, to return to the dining buſineſs, I am yet to learn that, for an Engliſhman barely to rejoice that his fellow-creatures in any part of the globe have obtained a bleſſing, is either criminal, or unconſtitutional. It is, however, methinks a little unconſtitutional, for any one avowedly to exerciſe the powers committed to him by way of puniſhing actions ſo innocent. And I preſume too, that ſuch exerciſe of power is alſo oppreſſive. If the ſlave traders had had equal power with your Grace, how puniſhments would lately have flown round this land! How the criminal *wiſhes* of the people would have been chaſtiſed!—But ſome perſons are ſo eccentric as to think, that criminal perſons are thoſe who exerciſe or abet injuſtice or oppreſſion of any deſcription.

Here, my Lord, I would farther aſk, in whoſe favour, and under what circumſtances, was this promiſe of the Liutenant Colonelcy made? Was it not one whoſe political ſentiments you perfectly knew; to one whom you knew to have vindicated American reſiſtance; and to one whom you knew to have

ſacrificed,

ſacrificed, to thoſe principles, the faireſt profeſſional proſpects * ? Had you not alſo known the

* It was a ſacrifice that coſt the writer ſome tears. But 'tis better to part with tears than principles. Offered a commiſſion to ſerve in the ſhip of a commander in chief whoſe profeſſional character he held in the higheſt eſtimation; under whom he had been trained; and to whom he had at former periods owed great obligations; and having at the ſame time a partiality for a naval life; it could not be on ſlight grounds that he declined the offer; eſpecially when that commander expreſſed a full perſuaſion of being able to bring the American diſpute to an amicable coucluſion, without making uſe of the force entruſted to him. The event, however, ſhewed that the writer judged properly, in declining a commiſſion which muſt have brought him into the dilemma, of either drawing his ſword againſt America, which he thought unjuſt; or of reſigning his commiſſion on the eve of battle, which others would have thought diſhonourable.

He ſhould not have written this note, had it not been to expreſs to Lord Howe, that the impreſſions of his goodneſs to the writer on that and many former occaſions, have never been weakened in his breaſt; although ſome untoward circumſtances unfavourable to the election intereſts of his Lordſhip's brother in the town of Nottingham, might poſſibly excite in his Lordſhip's mind an idea that they had. The writer's firſt introduction at Nottingham, as a candidate acceptable to the gentlemen in that town, who intereſted themſelves in favour of a parliamentary reform, was at a period when *it could not* interfere with the intereſts of Sir William Howe. The connexion continued, however, till it did interfere: But it was a connexion

the activity and exertions of that man in the cauſe of parliamentary reform; and that his enmity to the abuſes in our repreſentation had never abated? If to ſuch a man, your promiſe of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy was made at Chriſtmas 1790; it is a taſk beyond my ſkill in caſuiſtry, to ſhew how you can juſtify the intentional breach of that promiſe at Midſummer in 1791, ſeeing no alteration whatever in the principles or practice of the perſon in quſti on.

Is it, then, the honourable tenure upon which every gentleman is to hold his commiſſion in *your* militia, that he preſumes not to rejoice but when you rejoice, nor to weep but when you weep? Is he neither to expreſs his ſatisfaction when other nations become free, nor to open his lips in favour of the liberties of his own country? But at all events I conclude, that he muſt make no attempt to remove abuſes in the repreſentation of Great-Britain, be they ever ſo ſcandalous,

connexion on principle; not on perſonal, or on party grounds. Thoſe are motives which, in public concerns, never did, nor he truſts ever will actuate the writer. Even his own debts of private gratitude, he ſhould think himſelf a diſhoneſt man if he could conſent to pay at the expence of the public.

or productive of ever ſo much injury to the rights, the intereſts, and the morals of the people; ſo long as your Grace remains a borough-holder, and of courſe one of thoſe ******* who deſpoil the Commons of that repreſentation in parliament which belongs to them *alone*?—Theſe are ſerious queſtions which my brother-officers, and thoſe of the whole Engliſh militia, will do well to conſider, as becomes their importance. It becomes them, as well as myſelf, to ſpurn at the knavery and inſolence of office, employed to root out from the militia all independency of mind. It becomes every man of us to expreſs his indignation, whenever treated as the property of a court dependent, poſſeſſing not ſufficient virtue to be himſelf the friend of either civil or religious freedom; nor wiſdom enough to ſhut up and conceal that want of virtue within the dark and narrow cell of his own boſom. I ſhall not, my Lord, defend the propriety of my language, when I ſay *your* militia. I only aſſumed on that occaſion the language of the court, which will be exemplified in the following anecdote. Some years ago, a nobleman, ſoon after his

acceſſion to the family title, paid his compliments at court, where he was thus addreſſed; "You live, I think, in the Duke of New-"caſtle's county."—He indignantly replied; "I live, Sir, in the county of Not-"tingham."

With reſpect to the appointments quoted from the Gazette, I have to obſerve, that; not admitting a particle of blame in my own conduct on the 14th of July, I had a claim not only upon the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, but upon the higher commiſſion itſelf. It is true, that I could not have had it without paſſing over the head of Lieutenant Gould; but had not I been Major to the regiment ſix years and a half before he came into it? And was not the commiſſion then given to him, due to me? If theſe be truths, my claim to the commiſſion of Colonel was as much ſtronger than his, as juſtice is to be preferred to injuſtice; not to remark, that my claim was equally well-founded, when that commiſſion was before given to Mr. Willoughby. —Nor ſhall I ſpend time in farther obſervations concerning the appointment of Lieute-

nant

nant Colonel Charlton; but paſs on to that of *a new Major*. This act, my Lord, does as much honour to your head, as the others have done to your heart; and that is ſaying a good deal. Where you thought you had thus accompliſhed at once two favourite objects—to mortify and to diſmiſs the man whoſe long continuance in the regiment had been ſo painful to you, great I doubt not was your ſelf-congratulation. But, my Lord, if I can read plain Engliſh, your triumph I think will be ſhort; for, with ſubmiſſion to your better judgment, I beg leave to offer it as my humble opinion, that, *your whole proceedings were utterly illegal.*

Your Grace, it is true, had heard of an Act of Parliament paſſed in 1786, which ſays, that the Lord Lieutenant of every county, at the end of every five years *may* remove one Field Officer, and one third of the Captains, Lieutenants, and Enſigns, reſpectively; but either the labour of reading that law, for inſtructions how to proceed, was too great an effort; or you had a mind to ſhew the Deputy Lieutenants with how much contempt

you could treat them; and the world in general, that the law of your own will was much ſweeter to your palate than the laws of the land, although it were ready to do the very buſineſs you wanted. Or did you, my Lord, really mean to be guided by the ſtatute, and, take opinions upon its interpretation? If ſo, your adviſers, inſtead of being learned in the law, muſt have been creatures that could not read. No words can be plainer than the words of this Act. And its ſpirit is equally viſible. Reſpecting the matter under conſideration, I find as follows: viz.

Extracts from a Statute of 26 Geo. III. c. 107, entitled, "An Act for amending, "and reducing into one Act of Parliament, "the laws relating to the Militia in that part "of Great Britain called England."

1. The Lieutenants "Shall alſo appoint a proper number of Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, and other officers, qualified as hereinafter-directed, to train, diſcipline, and command the perſons ſo to be armed

armed and arrayed, *according to the rules, orders, and directions hereinafter-mentioned*, and ſhall certify," &c.

XIII. And be it further enacted, That the clerk of the peace of every county, riding, and place, ſhall, and he is hereby required, to enter the qualifications tranſmitted to him according to the directions of this act upon a roll, to be provided and kept for that purpoſe, and to cauſe to be inſerted in the *London Gazette* the dates of the commiſſions, and names and rank of the officers, *together with the names of the officers in whoſe room they are appointed*, in like manner as commiſſions in the army are publiſhed, &c.

XV. And be it further enacted, That the *Lieutenant* of every county, riding, and place, together with any THREE or more Deputy Lieutenants, and on the death or removal, or in the abſence of any ſuch Lieutenant, and FIVE or more deputy Lieutenants, may, at the end of every five years, at their annual meetings to be holden as hereinafter is directed, in caſe the militia of ſuch county, riding,

riding, or place, ſhall not be then embodied, diſcharge ſome *one field-officer* of each regiment or battalion, and ſuch a number of officers of each inferior rank, in each regiment, battalion, and independent company, as ſhall be equal to the number of perſons who ſhall have given notice in writing to the Lieutenant of ſuch county, riding, or place, one month at leaſt before ſuch meeting, that they are willing to ſerve as Field-officers, Captains, Lieutenants, or Enſigns, as the caſe may require: Provided always, that the number of vacancies to be made by diſcharging ſuch officers ſhall not exceed *one third* of ſuch officers who ſhall have ſerved for the ſpace of five years in each rank reſpectively: Provided alſo, that nothing herein contained ſhall prevent any officer ſerving, or who has ſerved in the militia, in an inferior rank, from offering himſelf to ſerve in a higher rank, if he be qualified to ſerve in ſuch higher rank.

XVI. The Lieutenant ſhall appoint a clerk of the general meetings.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, That *general* meetings of the lieutenancy of every county, riding, and place, ſhall be holden in ſome principal town of every ſuch county, riding, or place; and ſuch *general* meetings ſhall conſiſt of the Lieutenant, together with *two* Deputy Lieutenants at the leaſt, or, on the death or removal, or in the abſence of the Lieutenant, then of *three* Deputy Lieutenants at leaſt, of every county, riding, and place reſpectively; and one ſuch *general* meeting ſhall be holden within every county, riding, and place, ANNUALLY, upon the LAST TUESDAY which ſhall happen before the 24th DAY OF OCTOBER in every year; and the Lieutenant, together with any *two* Deputy Lieutenants, or (on the death or removal, or in the abſence of the Lieutenant) any *three* Deputy Lieutenants of any county, riding, or place, when and as often as they ſhall find neceſſary for carrying the purpoſes of this Act duly and fully into execution, may ſummon, or cauſe to be ſummoned, other *general* meetings of the Lieutenancy, on any days to be fixed by ſuch ſummons, of which days, and the places of holding

ſuch

ſuch meetings reſpectively, notice ſhall be given in the *London Gazette*, and alſo in any weekly Newſpaper uſually circulated in ſuch county, riding, or place, *fourteen* days at the leaſt before the days appointed for holding ſuch meetings reſpectively; and in caſe any ANNUAL or other *general* meeting ſhall not be attended by the Lieutenant and *two* Deputy Lieutenants, or by *three* Deputy Lieutenants, as herein-before required, the Lieutenant, who ſhall attend at ſuch meeting, ſhall and may adjourn, &c.

XXII. And be it further enacted, That the Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants, or the Deputy Lieutenants, at every ANNUAL meeting to be holden as herein-before directed, ſhall appoint the *firſt* meetings of the Deputy Lieutenants within the ſeveral ſubdiviſions of their reſpective counties, ridings, and places, which ſaid *firſt* meetings ſhall be appointed to be held as early after *the 24th day of October* in every year, as conveniently my be.

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In this Act of Parliament, paſſed in 1786, we ſee it provided, that, at the end of every *five* years, a change of officers *may* be made; and we ſee your Grace, in the year 1791, embracing the firſt opportunity offered you, of carrying this proviſion into effect. It is alſo provided, that an officer having ſerved in one rank, may, on this change, be raiſed to a higher commiſſion, if legally qualified to hold it. Hence it appears, that the poor diſcarded Major *might* have been preferred, had you thought his ſervices entitled him to ſo much favour. But, in this buſineſs of a quintennial change of officers, it ſeems, my Lord, to have been clearly foreſeen by the legiſlature, that, if not carefully guarded againſt, it would infallibly become a cauſe of *factious*, *malicious*, *and iniquitous* proceedings. It does, therefore, guard againſt ſuch abuſes, by taking eſpecial care that ſuch change of officers ſhall not be done at *the will* of the Lord Lieutenant *alone*, nor in *ſecret*, nor by *ſurprize*. It likewiſe makes farther proviſions of great wiſdom, as a ſecurity that the removal of officers ſhall be *impartial*. You will pleaſe to obſerve, my Lord, that the

buſineſs muſt be done at a *general meeting*; that ſuch general meeting muſt alſo be an *annual meeting*; and moreover muſt be held on the *laſt Tueſday* which ſhall happen before the *twenty-fourth* day of October; and on *no other day in the year*. And again: Although in all other caſes of *general meetings*, the Lord Lieutenant together with *two* Deputies; or elſe *three* Deputies without the Lord Lieutenant, are now to do buſineſs: Yet, if any quintennial removal of officers be to take place in the *annual general* meeting, then, in that particular caſe, and in that only, the Act requires the preſence of the *Lord Lieutenant together with* THREE Deputies *at the leaſt*; or elſe of FIVE Deputies *at the leaſt* without the Lord Lieutenant; and the ſaid *annual* general meeting is open to the Lieutenancy of the whole county if they chooſe to attend. So well, and ſo wiſely does the Act provide againſt *arbitrary will*, *ſecreſy*, *ſurprize*, *picque*, or *partiality*. Literal compliances with all theſe forms are eſſentials; and a defect in any *one* of theſe eſſentials, muſt prove fatal to any commiſſion given for the purpoſe of a quintennial change of officers. But your Grace has ingeniouſly contrived

that

that the new Major's commiſſion granted by you on the 13th of September laſt, ſhall be defective in them ALL. Not one of them in the ſmalleſt degree was regarded. No *annual* meeting held;—not a ſingle *general* meeting in the year 1791;—no attendance of *Deputy Lieutenants*, either to countenance or diſapprove of the noble deed; and, to complete the blundering buſineſs in a truly Hibernian ſtile, the commiſſion bears date five weeks before it was poſſible, under the authority of this Act, that a vacancy could be made by my removal; ſince that could not have taken place, as the Act has ſhewn, till the *eighteenth* day of October, which was the laſt Tueſday prior to the *twenty-fourth* day of the month. The whole of the dirty buſineſs is thus done contrary to law, and in ſecret. One Major is ſmuggled out, and another ſmuggled into the regiment in the dark. Darkneſs indeed muſt have prevailed, when you could not ſee the road ſo clearly pointed out by the legiſlature; and ſhame muſt cover the tranſaction now it is brought to light. I preſume that by this time you perceive, that I have ſtill the honour to remain Major to the Not-

tinghamſhire Militia; as I am, doubtleſs, your Grace's obliged and obedient ſervant, I ſhall of courſe appear in my poſt when the regiment next aſſembles; unleſs your Grace ſhould in the mean time find ſome more effectual means of removing me, than thoſe I have recited. Should his Majeſty be pleaſed to command a reſignation of my commiſſion, it will be ſurrendered without regret, and it will be found without ſtain. I am too little acquainted with court arcana, to know whether a Militia Major be of ſufficient conſequence to be neceſſarily *named*, and *his character* entered into, when it is propoſed to put another officer over his head. If he be, I wiſh the man, whoever he was, that gave my character to the King, as a ground for my not being preferred, would ſtand forth and publicly avow the report he made. In the moments of a contemptuous indignation, I have ſometimes thought of ſeeking to know, in what light I had been repreſented in that quarter: But upon conſideration it appeared not worth my attention. If there are any in his Majeſty's counſels, who think the treatment I have received merits inquiry,

they have now before them what I have to ſay on the ſubject; further than which, unleſs called upon, I ſhall give myſelf no trouble.—But I am wandering from the Act of Parliament, and the notable appointment of the 13th of September. I will return. Were your thoughts my Lord, ſo completely occupied with my removal, that the co-authority of the Deputy Lieutenants, and the plain meaning of the Act, were totally overlooked? Was your whole mind ſo filled with that one little idea, that it had not room for a ſecond of any kind? Or are we to underſtand, that you equally deſpiſed both the law and the Deputy Lieutenants; and were determined that an act and deed ſo meritorious ſhould be wholly your own? Believe me, however, that this ſpecimen of your Generalſhip will reflect ſome credit on your judgment in one particular inſtance. It will ſhew that when you did *not* avail yourſelf of the power in your hands, to aſſume the character of a military commander, in quality of Colonel to the regiment, you acted with judgment and prudence. With the ſuperior force in your hands of a Lord Lieutenant, and with every

poſſible

poſſible advantage of the ground that law could give you, to attack the defenceleſs, unreſiſting Major, and to be foiled by the folly of your own wretched manœuvres, places your Grace, I fear, in a light approaching to the ridiculous. But be not, my good Lord Duke, diſcouraged: Rally your ſcattered troops: Aſſemble your mercenaries: call a council of war: and gallantly open a new campaign. Your future ability and proweſs may wipe away the paſt diſgrace; and your ſage brows may yet be decorated with the laurel of victory.

Before we loſe ſight of the Act of Parliament, I muſt remark, that, in reſpect to the change which it ſays, *may* be made, of *one* field-officer, the *ſpirit* of that proviſion was at the time of the late appointments already fulfilled, *one field-officer* had been removed by the recent reſignation of Colonel Willoughby, in whoſe room Lieutenant-Colonel Gould was appointed Colonel: And at the point of time now in queſtion, *when I was to be removed*, there were but *two* field-officers in the regiment; of which number *one* is ſomewhat

what more than *a third part.* Hence, as it ſhould ſeem to me, there was neither a neceſſity for the removal of a ſecond field-officer, nor was it warranted by the act. But I will not ſay in what light that neceſſity nor the meaning of the act, might appear to your Grace, who ſeem to have entertained ſuch accurate notions of the *ſpirit* of the law, and to have ſtudied its *letter* with ſuch laudable induſtry. As the caſe now ſtands, and provided the appointment of Major were legal, inſtead of the removal of *one* field officer, all *three* have been removed. Colonel Willoughby removed himſelf; Lieutenant-Colonel Gould was removed, when advanced; and then the Major was removed, when he was ſmuggled out of the corps.

But, to reſume a little ſerioufneſs, I would now deſire your Grace to reflect, whether a Lord Lieutenant acting upon thoſe public, diſintereſted, and dignified principles, which out to be inſeperable from the execution of every high national and conſtitutional truſt, would not act with true conſiſtency, and agreeable to a juſt ſenſe of the peculiar *deli-*

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cacy required in carrying into effect that particular part of the militia-act now under conſideration, were he to requeſt the attendance at the *annual* general meeting above-mentioned, of all thoſe officers whom it appeared *proper* to change. Would it be too much, my Lord, after the honeſt labours of many years, to be treated at their removal like gentlemen; to receive a formal, ſolemn, honourable diſmiſſion in the public meeting of Lieutenancy, appointed for the very purpoſe of their removal. Would it be too great a favour that the words of the diſmiſſion ſhould convey to their minds a ſatisfactory aſſurance, that it was a removal neceſſarily flowing from the operation of the law itſelf; and that ſuch acknowledgements ſhould then be made of their ſervices, as they might be entitled to receive from their country, through its official organ the Lord Lieutenant, either in perſon or by deputy? Methinks, my Lord, that ſome ſuch decent ceremony would have ſuggeſted itſelf to an honourable and feeling mind, called upon to officiate on an occaſion of ſo much delicacy. But what a contraſt do the late proceedings exhibit! The Lord

Lieutenant

Lieutenant reſpects neither the officer to be removed, the Deputy Lieutenants to be conſulted, nor himſelf bound to ſupport an high official character: The ſpirit of the law is ſlighted; the letter, diſregarded.

But ſuppoſing your Grace's intuitive knowledge, as an hereditary legiſlator, to preſent theſe matters to your mind in a different light from that in which they ſtrike mine; yet ſurely, my Lord, the habits of your life, as a nobleman, muſt have impoſed it on you as a mere act of good breeding, to have directed at leaſt an official notification to have been ſent to a Field officer whom you had ſuperſeded in conſequence of the Act of Parliament! If I am to underſtand that, by the appointment of another Major, I am ſuperſeded, to this hour I have received no ſuch mark of your politeneſs. I ſhould humbly conceive, that your ſteward is not quite ſo deficient in good manners, when he gives his diſmiſſion to one of your ſcullions. But what civility am I to expect, when no one proviſion of the Act of Parliament, which it was your duty to have obeyed, met with the

ſlighteſt reſpect at your hands. Even the very form of the publication of the *five* appointments in the Gazette, is contrary to the expreſs words of the Act, and to uſage in *ſix* particulars. Sure never poor Act of Parliament was ſo contemptuouſly dealt with! The Act poſitively requires, that in the publication of the changes in the Gazette, it ſhall be expreſſed *in whoſe room* each officer has been appointed. This ſingle injunction is diſobeyed in no leſs than four inſtances; and, in particular, my name no where appears. This ſeems the moſt extraordinary of all your omiſſions. No Roman victor ever forgot in his triumph, to exhibit at his chariot wheels the principal perſonage whom he had ſubdued. But perhaps your magnanimity made you rather make free with an Act of Parliament, than cruelly expoſe to the public eye, him whom in your imagination you had vanquiſhed. It is amuſing to obſerve how uſage is attended to, in mentioning the *rank* of the officer who is made Colonel, viz. *Lieutenant Colonel* Gould; but when the officer now made Lieutenant Colonel is mentioned, *his* rank of *Captain* is not noticed.

noticed. The *reſigning* Colonel Willoughby, as the Act enjoins, is properly mentioned: But the *ſuperſeded* Major is, as I ſaid before, ſmuggled and kept out of ſight.

Having thus followed your Grace, ſtep by ſtep, through the Militia Act of 1786, and through the London Gazette, I cannot avoid making one obſervation; although it is ſo obvious that it muſt occur to the mind of every attentive reader. To all ſuch as, like your Grace, may have only heard of this Act without having read it; and who may have known no more of it, than could be collected from your manner of carrying it into execution, it might well be taken to be, " *An Act for garbling the Militia of England* " *once in every five years, ſo as to render the* " *officers of the ſame completely ſubſervient to* " *the will and pleaſure of his Majeſty's Lieu-* " *tenant of each county reſpectively.*"

Am I to ſuppoſe, my Lord, that you *had* read the ſtatute in queſtion, but would not venture before the Lieutenancy of the county, to bring forward your meaſures; nor to give

me an opportunity of facing you in a General Meeting? If this were really the caſe, it will only aggravate what is already too bad to look on.

When the national militia is to be thus garbled; and when, in ſo doing, the law of the land for preventing ſuch practices is to be thus trodden under foot, it is high time that thoſe to whom it belongs to preſerve reſpect to the government, ſhould look to ſuch groſs abuſes of delegated power. For the mere acceptance of the Lieutenancies of counties, where the abuſe of power in making the changes lay with the miniſter, we remember to have ſeen Lords Lieutenants themſelves removed. They ſhould not, therefore, be too certain that their own abuſes of power and diſgraceful acts, will eſcape without rebuke.

In the caſes alluded to, noblemen *, indeed, were the injured perſons; whereas, in

* The Earl of Pembroke and the Marquis of Caermarthen, now Duke of Leeds; and, I think, alſo, the Duke of Bolton, had been treated in the ſame way.

the

the preſent caſe, it is only a mere private gentleman. What difference that may make in the eye of the cabinet, I am not able to judge: But if my perſonal and oft-repeated injuries be not alone ſufficient to bring down the ſcale of juſtice to a balance; there remains to be put in, the infringement of the authority, and contemptuous treatment, of the whole Deputy Lieutenancy of the county of Nottingham; and the inſult given to the dignity of the legiſlature itſelf, in the direct and indecent violation of an Act of Parliament.

In a caſe cognizable *only by a body of Juſtices*, in Quarter Seſſions, ſhould a *ſingle* magiſtrate preſume, in his own cloſet, to prejudge the point, to pronounce a deciſion, and thereupon illegally to injure any man, in his office or his reputation; on aſſigned motives utterly unconſtitutional; and with the fouleſt ſuſpicions of premeditated malice; would not the Court of King's Bench ſoon teach that corrupt magiſtrate the difference between legal oppreſſion, and an upright adminiſtration of law? For other corrupt magiſtrates, there are other controuling powers.

It

It now only remains that I ſum up the evidence adduced in ſupport of the charges exhibited in the opening of this letter; viz. that your Grace's conduct in appointing a Captain of the regiment in September laſt to be Lieutenant Colonel; and at the ſame time ſuperſeding me by the appointment of another Major, was illiberal, illegal, oppreſſive, diſhonourable, and unconſtitutional.

I have proved, under your own hand, that at the very commencement of the period I have reviewed, viz. in January 1779, you yourſelf bore teſtimony of my integrity as *a man*.

I have alſo produced ſome other teſtimonies equally reſpectable, in ſupport of that character; and which likewiſe tend to ſhew, that, as *an officer*, my conduct was not barely unimpeachable; but had, indeed, met with ſome ſmall tokens of approbation from perſons of high reputation.

I have ſhewn too that, notwithſtanding ſuch an unimpeached character, and the juſt claims of my rank and ſervices in the regiment,

ment, prior to the appointment of Captain Charlton to be Lieutenant Colonel in September 1791, you had at different times ſucceſſively put over my head three other Lieutenant Colonels and two Colonels.

And I have brought evidence moreover, that to my temperate yet earneſt exhortations to know in what I had rendered myſelf unworthy of advancement, and why my character was to be ſtruck at by repeated ſlights put upon me, the only anſwers I could obtain were always to this effect—*that it was your will and pleaſure to do as you had done.*

Then, not to lay any particular ſtreſs upon its having been in 1778 *ſettled between your Grace and the Colonel that in caſe of a vacancy for Lieutenant Colonel I was to ſucceed*, I have eſtabliſhed the *fact*, of that commiſſion having been laſt year *promiſed* me by your Grace.

And having thus eſtabliſhed that fact, it follows of courſe, that when that promiſe was given, you could not have intended to remove me from the regiment.

All

All theſe points being clearly eſtabliſhed, the Gazette ſhews, that, inſtead of keeping your word of advancing me *in* the regiment, you employed your power to put me *out* of it; in a mode highly reprehenſible in every point of view, and by which the groſſeſt violations of a plain law, not capable of miſ-conſtruction, were committed; and wherein the common decencies of behaviour between gentleman and gentleman had not even been attended to.

Thus, my Lord, I have made out, that your conduct to me as a gentleman, has been *illiberal*; as an officer, *oppreſſive:* That your breach of promiſe was *diſhonourable*, and your appointment of another Major *illegal*. And who can doubt, but that to proſtitute a high national truſt repoſed in you, to puniſh an act perfectly innocent, was *unconſtitutional*.

Hitherto, my Lord, I have purpoſely avoided any obſervations on the French Revolution. But as my rejoicing in that event has, by your Grace, been imputed to me as

a crime, it is not fit that I ſhould be ſilent. Miſtake me not, however, my Lord. I am not going to labour a *defence*. I am not about to plead in *excuſe* of my conduct. No: It is with other feelings that I ſhall ſpeak of the French Revolution. Being a phenomenon in human affairs of ſuch extraordinary magnitude, and involving in it conſequences of ſuch infinite importance to our ſpecies, it has, in all its ſtages, been an object of anxious attention to the citizen, the ſtateſman, and the philoſopher. To behold a gigantic and horrible deſpotiſm, in a ſeaſon of profound peace, ſicken and ſpeedily crumble, by mere natural decay, to its diſſolution; while from its aſhes, with erect mein, and a heavenly dignity of aſpect, was ſeen riſing the fair and enchanting form of a free ſtate, was a ſpectacle truly calculated to command the admiration of men, to excite inquiry into its true origin, and to intereſt the wiſe and the good in the completion of a viſion ſo delightful. Seeing many millions of my fellow creatures ſuddenly redeemed from a cruel ſervitude degrading to the human ſpecies, my heart leaped with joy, and the tear

of extatic gratitude to the Diſpoſer of events, gliſtened in my eye. Revolving in my mind thoſe ſlow but certain advances of reaſon, that progreſs of ſcience, that extenſion of thought, thoſe juſter notions of man's rights, and the irreſiſtible power of truth, which, maturing by imperceptible degrees the ſeeds of renovation, had ſo long been preparing France for a change; and referring all ſuch ſecondary cauſes of events to their true original, the Firſt Great Cauſe of all; HE it was that I conſidered as the true and proper author of a revolution in human affairs ſo beneficent, ſo grand, ſo aſtoniſhing. Acting, my Lord, under ſuch impreſſions, I have no apology to make, for peaceably meeting like-minded men, ſocially to enjoy ſatisfactions ſo pure and exalted. Did I not ſincerely rejoice in the French revolution, I ſhould not dare to call man my brother, nor God my heavenly father.

But my admiration, my Lord, is not a blind idolatry. And although I conſider the event, when taken all together, as a glorious diſpenſation of Divine Providence, to improve the virtue and to promote the happineſs

happineſs of mankind, yet I by no means hold it to be inconſiſtent with this idea, that it partakes, as I think in a few inſtances it does, of the imperfection of man, the immediate agent in giving it being.

He who through ignorance, or a mere blameleſs ſtupidity, ſees nothing in the French revolution to inſpire joy, is an object of my compaſſion; but with regard to him who hath diſcernment for making moral and political diſtinctions, and yet declares a general diſapprobation of that revolution, nothing but the utmoſt exertion of charity can perſuade me, that he doth not willingly deceive himſelf. There are, however, thoſe whoſe induſtrious and multiplied miſrepreſentations on this occaſion; whoſe ſcandalous perverſion of facts, of hiſtory, of reaſon; whoſe apoſtacy from former profeſſions; and whoſe infamous attempts to calumniate the patriots of France, as well as to revile all thoſe in England who rejoice at the revolution; there are thoſe I ſay, whoſe conduct in all theſe particulars has ranked them in my eſtimation with the moſt miſchievous, and moſt wicked

of men. To a certain malignant attack in particular, upon the venerable *Price*, in whom were ſo conſpicuouſly united the virtues and graces of the honeſt man, the firm patriot, the mild philanthrophiſt, the enlightened moraliſt, and the humble chriſtian, it will be difficult to find a parallel in the annals of human depravity. It was not, in virulence of language, even ſurpaſſed by thoſe who, on a former occaſion, reviled and perſecuted that MASTER, of whom *Price* was ſo true a *follower*. And from the very words of the calumniator of *Price*, we are but too well warranted in aſſuring ourſelves, that, had the power been equal to the will, we had ſeen on the occaſion a crucified reformer;—his life a ſacrifice to the ſame diabolical paſſions, as once exhibited to the eyes of mankind a crucified Redeemer.

While many of the wiſeſt amongſt men, in the French revolution behold a luminary mounting in the firmament of reaſon, to diſpel the heavy clouds of ſuperſtition, miſgovernment, and oppreſſion; Mr. *Burke* ſeems

to

to be ſtruck blind by this ſudden burſt of light, curſes its ſource, and can hail this reſplendent ſun, only "to tell him how he "hates his beams!"

With thouſands, and with tens of thouſands, aye, with all Europe's millions, I hope again and again to celebrate the birth of that conſtitution which came to ſave a great kingdom and enlighten a world. To Mr. *Burke* be it, with hideous howlings, frantic geſtures, bigot rage, and impious incitements to war and carnage, to honour the obſequies of a fallen deſpotiſm! His be the praiſe of attempting to grace the funeral pile of the departed, whom he ſo devoutly adored and ſo pathetically laments; with the wreck of a new-born freedom, with the mutual ſlaughter of brethren, and with the tears, the groans, the blood of mangled Europe! But the proud Phariſee acts in character. So long as A GOVERNMENT OF COMMON HONESTY AND COMMON SENSE approached no nearer than *America*, he was only *inwardly chagrined*; but no ſooner do we hear as it were in our very iſland, the heaven-

rending

rending ſhout of emancipated millions, vibrating on the eaſtern breeze, and proclaiming a like government in *France;* no ſooner do we ſee from our cliffs the bright banner of French freedom waving to England its friendly ſalutation, than, at this near approach of danger, his inmoſt ſoul is troubled and appalled. Labouring with gloomy and diſtracted thought, for a while he broods over his "*diſcontents*" in ſullen ſilence. Viſions of *popular freedom*, ſo hateful to his ſight, haunt his pillow. The *rights of man*, as evil genii, harraſs his tortured imagination. Thoſe *franchiſes of the Engliſh people*, "TO WHICH RATHER THAN CONSENT "HE WOULD BE TORN IN PIECES BY "HORSES," approach, and fill him with agonies inexpreſſible. And, in prophetic viſion, he ſees, with blood-chilling horror, his darling GOVERNMENT OF MYSTERY AND CORRUPTION, together with his cobweb doctrines of *ariſtocratic connexion*, *civil diſcretion*, *repreſentation without election*, and and the reſt of that ſublime nonſenſe in politics, which it has been the labour of his life to inculcate, all ſwept away by the breath

breath of TRUTH, like chaff before the wind; and even the *High-prieſthood of Impoſture* itſelf, that glorious object of human ambition, on the point of extinction.—What is to be done? Deſperate the caſe: Deſperate muſt be the remedy.—May not one man's ſophiſtries extinguiſh in a moment the light and learning of ages? May not one man's ſubtilties, ſilence at once the common ſenſe of nations? And may not a ſingle orator, by a ſingle oration, rouſe all the European nations, in the cauſe of tyranny, to commit a *felo de ſe?* Cannot his eloquence perſuade all human paſſions to change their objects; and command even time itſelf to roll back two centuries and leave man once more a bigot and a ſlave? Such are the mad counſels of rage and deſperation. Forlorn, indeed, the hope: But periſh freedom; periſh the human race; rather than that an high-prieſt ſhall be humbled! "Better to reign in hell, than ſerve in heaven." On a ſingle throw, the frantic gameſter ſtakes his all. Friendſhips; principles; political conſequence; literary fame, and moral character; all, all are ſet upon the die. The die is caſt, and all is ——.

As the whole of the French Conſtitution is before the public, let every one think for himſelf. It is my preſent purpoſe only, to notice its *general effects* on this ſide of the water. That it has given a ſevere ſhock to all thoſe who are intereſted in the abuſes and corruptions of our own conſtitution, is manifeſt from their inveteracy againſt it, from the proſtituted labours of the newſpapers in their pay, and the artificial clamour they have in vain endeavoured to excite againſt that conſtitution. On the other hand, like the awakening and animating trumpet of the morn, it has broken the ſlumbers of the Engliſh reformers, and rouzed them to a renewal of their generous labours: and it has awakened in the people an attention to their rights. The ſpirit of political reform, bottomed on juſtice and truth; maintained with manly reaſon; and conducted with peace, order and wiſdom; which is now ſo conſpicuouſly riſing, and ſo rapidly ſpreading through the land, juſtify both parties in the opinions they have ſeverally formed on this great event. Political popery and impoſture have received the mortal wound. Their remaining

maining ſtruggles, will be the mere convulſions of death: But they will die as they have lived; uttering to the laſt moment nothing but myſtery, lies, and words of deception. The hour, however, is at hand, when they ſhall periſh. And in the ſame hour, the Britiſh people ſhall demand and recover their rights; and ſhall "*re-inſtate the* "*conſtitution upon its true principles* *."

Not even plauſible *conceſſion* will now, in my humble opinion, put the people off their guard; and *compromiſe* will be received as inſult. Their demand is THEIR RIGHTS. They are taking their cauſe into their own hands. They want no patrons: And their FRIENDS will be their *ſervants*. Their operations are infallible; their ſtrength will ſoon be invincible. They peaceably aſſociate. They exerciſe their own underſtandings on their own concerns. They are comparing the two ſyſtems of government now oppoſed to each other. Can any one doubt of their preferring that of COMMON HONESTY AND

* Addreſs to the Public from *the Friends of the People.*

COMMON SENSE, to that of MYSTERY AND CORRUPTION? Contemplating the maimed, mutilated, mangled, and wretched condition to which their repreſentative body is reduced; and viewing with indignation the ſcanty fragments and loathſome offals, which is all of freedom that they taſte, who can ſuppoſe, that they will deny themſelves the delicious banquet of complete conſtitutional liberty, when they ſhall ſee it in their power to ſit down to it? The Majeſty of the People has too long been reduced to the condition of a mendicant, ſubſiſting on the crumbs that fell from the tables of wealth and pride!

Amongſt the other occupations of the aſſociated people, they are inquiring into the different pretenſions to moral character, of the petty ſwindler of merchandiſe or furniture; and the *noble* ſwindler who gets into his clutches more or fewer ſeats in a certain aſſembly, of which no man of integrity can make a *property*. They are alſo reviewing, and making their comments upon the RED BOOK. It was the *red book* of *France*, which

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in the opinion of every honeſt man, damned the antient deſpotiſm. How a Britiſh government of MYSTERY AND CORRUPTION will ſtand a diſcuſſion of *our own red book*, remains to be ſeen. In my judgment, that book is an impudent record of open bribery exerciſed upon thoſe who ſit in the ſeats of the people's repreſentatives. The Houſe of Commons is the grand inqueſt of the nation; and ought to be an inqueſt *wholly* in the ſervice, *wholly* on behalf of the people. In an ordinary iſſue at law between man and man, the cauſe is ſubmitted to a *jury* of indifferent perſons, bound to decide uncorruptly, without favour and affection. In ſuch a *jury*, were it to be diſcovered, that, by intrigue and bribery, a majority had been gained over to the intereſt of one of the parties at iſſue, that the pannel itſelf had been packed by arts the moſt infamous; and that a number of *the very ſervants* of the bribing party were amongſt the jurors; what would be the indignation at proceedings ſo foul! What the infamy, that for ever after muſt attack on the character of the criminal offender! May not the Houſe of Commons, if due care be

not taken, become *ſuch a jury?* May not the people's ſhare and influence in that Houſe be rendered a mere phantom? May not the time arrive, when their rights ſhall be betrayed at the nod, and their property invaded at the beck, of every ſucceeding Miniſter? And what ſecurity can the people then have that the laſt remnants of their freedom, ſhall not be ſurrendered by a venal majority? Empty forms, indeed, may be retained, and new things may be called by old names; but at ſuch a period it would be a ſerious and melancholy truth, that *the Commons, having ceaſed to have one branch of the legiſlature the organ of their will,* THE CONSTITUTION WOULD BE OVERTURNED; THE PEOPLE WOULD NOT BE FREE. For a denial that ſuch a danger is to be apprehended, we may challenge all thoſe placemen and penſioners who affect to extol the conſtitution, in order to hide thoſe abuſes and corruptions, that are the means whereby they riot in the ſpoils of a country, which they plunder and betray.

The patriots of *America* and of *France*, have ſecured the ſacred right of election to moſt,

moſt, would I could ſay, to all of their reſpective countrymen: They have alſo ſecured the freedom of their elections; and taken effectual care to guard the purity of their governments from even the ſuſpicion of undue influence. Among the legiſlatures of thoſe nations, containing no leſs than *ſixteen repreſentative aſſemblies of the people*, there is not a ſingle PLACEMAN or PENSIONER to be found. Happy *Americans!* Happy *Frenchmen!* How long will *Engliſhmen* endure the ſhame of ſeeing their Houſe of Repreſentatives a ſhocking contraſt to models ſo pure *!

* In February 1780, Sir G. Savile moved for a full diſcloſure of the PENSION LIST. It was reſiſted by the Miniſter, who moved and carried an amendment, by which the *ſecret* part of the liſt was ſtill kept in *the dark*. The minority on that queſtion was 188: The majority only two more, viz. 190; and compoſed as follows:

Penſioners, avowedly ſo, - - - - -	6
Contractors - - - -	14
Placemen - - - - -	94
Sons of do. and other very near connexions	26
Members under no viſible influence - -	50
	190

Here, then, had the uncorrupt principles of impannelling and challenging a *jury* prevailed, the miniſter, inſtead of ſtifling inquiry by a majority of *two*, would have loſt the queſtion by a majority of *one hundred and thirty-eight*.

It

It is a Houſe that muſt be reformed; or, farewel to the liberty, and to the glory of this country: A country that was once the land of men daring to be free; and whom neither fraud nor force could bind in chains.

Having thus given your Grace a ſketch of the preſent ſpeculations of the people, I have only to offer you a friendly hint, that it is high time you diſpoſed of your borough property, although you took for it no better payment that aſſignats; ſince I verily believe that an Engliſh borough will not be worth a groat, by the 14th of July, 1794.

Your Grace has told me, that you could not, "*conſiſtent with your political principles*," make me Lieutenant Colonel of the militia. Hence it ſhould ſeem, that the political principles of one of us muſt be bad enough. By your talking, my Lord, of yours, I ſuppoſe you will have no objection to their being brought into compariſon with mine, which you have inſinuated to be unconſtitutional. Should I make any miſ-ſtatement, your Grace, I hope, will have the goodneſs to correct me. You know the book, in which it is

ſaid,

ſaid, that every tree is known by its fruit. By the ſame rule we muſt judge of principles. As many of the fruits of mine are in the poſſeſſion of the public, I ſhall rather at preſent ſtate my principles negatively than poſitively; by ſhewing that they would not, and will not, permit me to do, than what they have produced or are hereafter likely to produce. My principles, then, my Lord, have never ſhifted with the wind of power, nor diſpoſed me to truckle to the ſtrongeſt party. Will your Grace inform us, what *ſettled* miniſter you ever oppoſed?—My principles, my Lord, would not permit me, a ſea-officer with ſome profeſſional enthuſiaſm, to violate the liberty, nor to ſpill the blood, of a ſingle unoffending fellow citizen; nor to accept of promotion in ſuch a cauſe: Yours, more flexible, allowed you, a nobleman of large poſſeſſions, to devote whole nations to unconditional ſubmiſſion, or to ſlaughter; and to pocket a poundage upon the nation's unexampled expenditure. But the hour of reflection, and its aweful meditations may come. Imagination may have its unwelcome intruders. Viſions of ſlaughtered

citizens

citizens and of a pillaged nation, will not contribute to repoſe.

Again: My principles, my Lord, when urged by the *moderate* reformers, never would permit me, nor ever will, to compromiſe away one atom of the rights of the commons of Great-Britain: While your Grace's, it ſhould ſeem, can reconcile to your notions of integrity, a little of that ſame noble ſwindling that has been ſpoken of; by means of which your *yea-and-nay* automatons have feats in the Houſe of Commons, where they uniformly exhibit in the puppet-ſhew exhibitions of every ſucceeding miniſter *.

With principles ſo oppoſite, it is no wonder we could not agree: Nor am I ſurprized that you thought me *a dangerous man—a very dangerous man.*

* If I am rightly informed, one exception ſhould here be named; as report ſays, that during the whole of the laſt parliament, a gentleman ſat for one of your boroughs *very much againſt your inclinations*; in conſequence of certain pre-engagements which, prior to the memorable coalition, you had thought *convenient* to enter into, and from which you were not afterwards permitted to recede.

Since your Grace and I, in the year 1775, had a certain converſation, which I am perſuaded you have not forgot, times and faſhions in opinion are greatly altered. Little did you then ſeem to foreſee *American* Independence, *French* Liberty, or that change for which England is now prepared. It is time that your politics, like your plate, ſhould be moulded to the new faſhion. And you will do well to prepare yourſelf for reſting contented with your ſingle ſeat in the Houſe of Lords. Conſidering that the conſtitution allows the Peers one entire branch of the legiſlative authority, and the laſt reſort in our juriſprudence to themſelves; beſides the garniſh to theſe ſubſtantial diſhes, of titles, coronets, privileges, precedencies, and a voluntary reſpect and deference whereever the reſpectable part of them appear; methinks that in a nation of eight or nine million of ſouls, theſe excluſive and hereditary advantages, poſſeſſed by *two hundred and forty-ſeven perſons*, might ſatisfy a reaſonable ambition. Your eſtates are not mentioned as any peculiar advantage poſſeſſed by your order over the Commons; but yet your

titles, we all know, have an intrinſic pecuniary value in the market of matrimony, and in the Regiſter-office for ſervants at St. James's. Be ſatisfied, therefore, with that which is your own; and peaceably reſtore what you have uſurped, before it be reſumed by its right owners in a tone of diſpleaſure. It may yet be reſtored with the grace of paying a compliment; and even of conferring a favour. How much more pleaſant and reputable would it be to the Britiſh ariſtocracy, to ſecure to themſelves a portion of that honour and affection beſtowed upon true patriot reformers, than to ſubject themſelves to a ſcandalous proſecution, as invaders of right, and as the receivers and holders of that which has wrongfully been taken from others! A conviction, my Lord, on ſuch a proſecution, in the high-court of *public opinion* might, *in theſe inquiſitive and ſcrutinizing days*, be attended with conſequences extending beyond mere reſtitution. If *conſtitutional juſtice* ſhall not ſpeedily be done, there is no knowing how the conſtitution itſelf may fare in the end. Should it periſh through the pride and tyranny of an *ariſtocracy*,

cracy, obſtinately determined to reſiſt the people's juſt claim of a fair repreſentation in their own Houſe of Parliament, it is for that ariſtocracy to conſider, what place they would have in a new ſyſtem. Amongſt the diſcoveries of theſe pregnant times, it has been found out, that men may live and thrive without Lords; that the ſun will ſhine and the dew will deſcend, where there are none but equal citizens to partake of theſe bleſſings; and that even good laws can be made, and juſtice well adminiſtered, without either hereditary legiſlators or hereditary judges. On theſe diſcoveries, my Lord, the ariſtocracy of this country will do well to ponder.

Some men in the ariſtocracy, and ſome very ariſtocratic men, affect great diſpleaſure that the people in their ſpeculations ſhould ever expreſs themſelves, as if it were poſſible that human ſociety might be well governed without an ariſtocracy. But if the ariſtocracy of this country have ſhewn themſelves deadly and inveteterate enemies to popular freedom, by perpetually undermining the democratic citadel; and if, after the efforts at

reform that have been making for near twenty years paſt, and the warnings which thoſe efforts have afforded, they ſtill perſiſt to act the ſame part, pray who are moſt to blame? They who complain of a violation of the conſtitution, and an invaſion of their liberties; or thoſe who, deaf to theſe complaints, continue their treachery and injuſtice? They who after ſuch experience and ſuch provocation, hint that an ariſtocracy might well be diſpenſed with; or that ariſtocracy itſelf, for not ſhewing by its conduct that it will henceforth be content with its own conſtitutional pre-eminence, and that the inſtitution is actually compatible with popular freedom? Were it indeed neceſſary that either popular freedom or ariſtocratic authority ſhould periſh, there can be no doubt which ought to fall the ſacrifice to the ſafety of the other; But conceiving that they are not incompatible one with the other, I wiſh only that the weaker party would take advice ere it be too late.

I truſt, my Lord, that by the frequency with which I quote the Britiſh Conſtitution,

it will be ſeen that I do not agree with Mr. Paine, in denying that *in theory* we have one. To him it muſt, indeed, be conceded, that we are not poſſeſſed, as in *America* and in *France*, of a ſolemn compact of the people themſelves, made at once for that purpoſe; and rendered as it were viſible and tangible, by having been committed to print. I would to God we were! But though our conſtitution hath as it were no tangible *body*; and we are left to collect its *ſpirit* as we can, from the principles and maxims ſcattered in our law books; yet it cannot be denied that a conſtitution *in theory* exiſts, if it be granted that the people have a right to a fair trial by jury, and to a genuine, uninfluenced, repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons. If it be denied that the people have theſe rights; then, indeed, we have no conſtitution that I know of. A proper ſhare in the power of making the laws, and a ſecurity from oppreſſion in the application of thoſe laws, are of themſelves a conſtitution. Much more I know is neceſſary to be aſcertained; but in the confuſion of our ſyſtem, and in the conflict of doctrines and opinions upon the inferior

ferior points, who is it that ſhall delineate a Britiſh Conſtitution, which all ſhall receive and acknowledge as ſuch? Contemplating, then, our conſtitution, in the purity of its principles, and in the tendency of thoſe principles to render the nation happy, few I believe have been greater admirers of it than myſelf: But beholding it, at the ſame time the ſubject of perpetual cavil, diſpute and miſrepreſentation; the prey of the fouleſt abuſe; the perverted engine of oppreſſion; and even the very cloak of a moſt potent deſpotiſm; none have more lamented its corruptions, nor more ardently contended for its reform.

In *America* and in *France* doubt and obſcurity is done away. The whole conſtitution of France, digeſted and arranged under proper heads, is contained in a little manual; what is conſtitutional and what is not, is ſettled in a moment, on almoſt any point that can ariſe. Here a Frenchman learns, without the ſophiſtries of lawyer or ſtateſman, what is the extent of prerogative; the duty of miniſters; the province of a judge;

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the right of a jury; and in ſhort, the whole of the conſtitution. In vain would an Engliſhman ranſack his whole library for the ſame information; although Blackſtone himſelf were on the ſhelf.

Enough, I preſume, has been ſaid to ſhew, that although all that had been done in France, and every particular of the new conſtitution, did not meet with my entire admiration, yet that, upon the whole, the revolution appeared to me ſo tranſcendently glorious in itſelf, and ſo highly beneficial to mankind, that it merited the admiration and the praiſe of all men. If, on human actions, we are to with-hold approbation untill we diſcern perfection, on what ſhall our admiration be beſtowed? Where ſhall we find objects of praiſe? But ſurely a conſtitution whoſe broad foundations reſt on *the Rights of Man*; a conſtitution which embraces the intereſts, the ſecurity, and happineſs of *every citizen*, of a great empire, is deſerving of our warmeſt admiration, and our higheſt praiſe; and is a cauſe of joy more ſubſtantial

than

than ever aroſe amongſt men, one only excepted: It is ſecond only to the univerſal conſtitution of chriſtianity, which embraces at once the happineſs of every citizen of every country. Rejoicing, therefore, in a bleſſing to mankind ſo extenſive as the revolution of France, was acting only as became a chriſtian and a man: But the enemies of human freedom and happineſs in this country, who had employed on the occaſion, all the inſiduous and wicked arts of miſrepreſentation and calumny; and who had alſo dared to throw out menace, for the purpoſe of intimidation, had made it a ſort of duty of patriotiſm, to ſhew a contempt for their inſolence, and an example worthy of future imitation by the friends of the conſtitution, and the liberties of this country. Such, my Lord, were the principles on which I attended the dining meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 14th of July, 1791, for the purpoſe of celebrating the anniverſary of the French Revolution. It remains for your Grace to explain thoſe "*political principles*" of yours, which you have aſſigned as your

your reaſon for putting forth the arm of authority, to puniſh me for ſo doing. The puniſhment, thank God, ſits light enough upon me: But, had there been a Baſtile into the ſecret caverns of which I could have been caſt, it is not quite ſo clear, that I ſhould have had this opportunity of making a return for the many civilities which your Grace has ſhewn me. According to the moſt excellent logic of ſome Engliſh courtiers, to rejoice that *France* has *built up* a conſtitution, is to manifeſt a deſire of *pulling down* the conſtitution of England. It ſhould rather ſeem, that the admirers of ſuch *building up* of conſtitutions, muſt be amongſt the advocates for *repairing* and *upholding* our own. And by an inference equally clear, perhaps we may diſcover who are the parties that actually *do conſpire* the overthrow of the Britiſh conſtitution. Can any man wiſh to reeſtabliſh the antient deſpotiſm of France, without ſecretly deſiring a ſimilar deſpotiſm, (in *fact*, though not perhaps in *appearance*,) to be eſtabliſhed at home? But with regard to individuals, againſt whom there is alſo

the ſtubborn evidence of *fact*, to prove that, to the utmoſt of their power, *they have undermined* the conſtitution; that *they have* poured into the Houſe of Commons a *corrupt ariſtocratic influence*; when, I ſay, the fair preſumption of this ſecret deſire and conſpiracy, combined with ſuch an overt act of treaſon againſt the conſtitution, can be alledged againſt any man, that man cannot eſcape the conſequence of the fair and natural inference to be drawn from thoſe premiſes.

Whatever perfection may be attributed to our conſtitution in *theory*, the firſt outline of which preſcribes a legiſlature by *King*, *Lords*, and *the repreſentatives of the Commons*; the fact we know to be, that our legiſlature *in practice* is no ſuch thing; but conſiſts of *King*, *Lords*, and *ſomething that it is difficult to expreſs*. The folly, the abſurdity, the iniquity, and the uſurpation, which go towards the compoſition of this *ſomething*, I hope we ſhall have fully ſtated to us in a new work juſt publiſhed, entitled, "*An entire* "*and complete Hiſtory, political and perſonal,*

"*of*

" *of* THE BOROUGHS *of Great Britain.*" Suffice it however to remark, that if any thing *inſtead of* the repreſentative of the commonalty is become a third branch of the legiſlature, REFORMATION IS WANTING. A conſtitution pretended to be one thing, and actually being another, is a direct cheat; and thoſe who defend ſuch cheat for the ſake of a perſonal gain thereby, are not only impoſtors, but ſomething elſe that needs not to be named. The money of the people *taken* by government upon the votes of men only *pretending* to be the people's repreſentatives, while in fact they are the tools or the automatons of the crown, the ariſtocracy, and the borough-holders, is, to all intents and purpoſes, money obtained under falſe pretences. In common life, ſuch obtaining of money is attended with puniſhment and infamy. How it ought to be conſidered while it is the practice of miniſters, the public is left to its own opinion.

In the *Hiſtory of the Boroughs* which I have mentioned, I truſt we may learn how

many of the gentlemen ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, are YOUR GRACE'S REPRESENTATIVES; becauſe we ſhall then ſee the magnitude of that *ſtake* which you have to defend againſt *innovators*; and may alſo have ſome grounds wherein to calculate the value of the *Auditorſhip of the Exchequer*; of which, although the *duties* are yours for life, in virtue of your patent, we have been told that the emoluments are at the mercy of the miniſter. When your Grace, by a ſort of inſtinctive impulſe, took the *right* ſide, and *your repreſentatives*, leſs ſagacious, took the *wrong* one in the *coallition* ſtruggle, *the inſtant reſignation of their ſeats* that followed that event may have afforded the Author of the work referred to, no very weak illuſtration of his proofs, as to the property or the patronage which diſpoſes of the ſeats for the boroughs alluded to.

Here, my Lord, I muſt introduce a few obſervations upon an *old phraſe* now again coming much into uſe.

Having

Having a *ſtake in the country* has been urged, to prevent men of property from becoming reformers. It certainly is a good reaſon for ſtudiouſly ſeeking the peace and happineſs of one's country. But how is that ſo effectually to be done, as by reformation? Who has the greateſt ſtake in the country; he who has moſt *wealth*, or he who has moſt *happineſs* in it? Are the largeſt eſtates and the fineſt houſes criterions of the greateſt ſtake? No ſuch thing. He whoſe aſſociates are the moſt enlightened and the moſt amiable of the community; whoſe life is a courſe of ſteady virtue; and the ruling principles of whoſe enlarged mind are, fearleſsly to promote whatever he conceives to be agreeable to the Divine will, and beneficial to man; has an intereſt in the peace and happineſs of his country, as ſuperior to the mere man of wealth, as his purſuits are ſuperior to thoſe of ambition, voluptuouſneſs, or diſſipation. He is impelled to ſeek his country's happineſs through the medium of a pure conſtitution; and the peace for which he wiſhes, is the peace of freedom. He knows of

none

none other that deſerves the name of peace. In the ſilence and ſubmiſſion of ſlaves, there is peace indeed to tyrants; but the tyranny which cauſes this ſilence and ſubmiſſion, is a perpetual war, and an unceaſing oppreſſion upon the whole community.

Now the ſtake of him who has only wealth without virtue, may, naturally enough, tempt him to oppoſe reform. He has an intereſt in favouring thoſe corruptions which give to wealth an unjuſt conſequence and inordinate power. The more corrupt the government, the more eaſily he can have his boroughs, and ſhare in the public plunder; the more places and penſions, commiſſions and livings, he can diſpenſe amongſt his relations and creatures. A free ſtate may have no charms for him who has only groſs appetites and ſordid paſſions to gratify. Under an arbitrary government it is, that faction and a vicious ambition are eaſieſt gratified; that blood-ſucking avarice, and the inſolence of baſe-mindedneſs are in their element; and that pride, pomp, and vanity, find the moſt agreeable ſtage to ſtrut on. Here the legiſla-

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tor can conſume his nights at the gaming-table, or his days amongſt dogs and horſes, without interruption, and without reproach. But ſtill, the true queſtion is, does wealth without virtue render a man as *happy* as the perſon with whom he has been contraſted? If not, his ſtake in ſociety is not ſo valuable. Hence we may learn how to interpret the language of men who plead their *ſtake in the country*, as their reaſon for not aiding reform.

To conclude: When, on a day ſacred to liberty, your Grace ſhall again condeſcend to commiſſion your ſpies, to watch my ſteps and to report where I dine, I will not fail, my Lord, if you deſire it, to tranſmit you the animating toaſts that are drank; the noble ſentiments which glow in every breaſt, and ſparkle in every eye; and the reforms in the ſtate on which the company may converſe. In return, my Lord, the only favour I ſhall requeſt, will be a full diſplay of thoſe "political principles," which would not permit you, in an honourable cauſe, *to keep*

your word; but which do not prevent you from *ſtabbing to the vitals the conſtitution of your country.*

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Moſt obedient

May 22, 1792. Humble ſervant,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

POSTCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

June 4, 1792.

HAVING examined the Miniſter's opinions and declarations ſet forth in the Proclamation of the 21ſt ult. and having more than doubts of their wiſdom, as well as more than ſuſpicions of their tendency to injure the Conſtitution, and to prejudice the liberties of my country, I feel it to be the duty of a citizen to inveſtigate them with care, and to ſpeak of them with freedom.

A part of one paſſage in the publication is ſo excellent, that it ſeems as if there had been an intention to have followed it up with matter equally good, but that, in the confuſion occaſioned by the diſpute with the Chancellor, this intended addition had been omitted and loſt. The Miniſter has made his Ma-

jeſty ſay, " And whereas there is nothing " which we ſo earneſtly deſire, as to ſecure " the public *peace* and *proſperity*, and to pre- " ſerve to ALL our loving ſubjects the full " enjoyment of their RIGHTS and LIBER- " TIES, both *religious* and civil:" Here might have been expected ſome compliment to thoſe who have imitated the former conduct of the Miniſter, by ſtepping forward in the cauſe of *Parliamentary Reform*, as the ſureſt foundation for *permanent* " peace and proſperity;" and aſſurances that his Majeſty and his Miniſters would co-operate with them to the utmoſt of their power; AS, DOUBTLESS, THEY OUGHT TO DO. How a man's *religious* RIGHTS are to be fully enjoyed, while not permitted freely to communicate with his Maker in his own manner, without experiencing civil diſabilities, or being ſubject to legal penalties, it is ſomewhat difficult to underſtand. Nor is it eaſy to comprehend what is meant by the *full enjoyment* of the *civil* RIGHTS of a People, who for the moſt part are utterly deprived of either a ſhare, or a pretended ſhare, in the appointment of legiſlators;

legiſlators; while the apparent ſhare of the *ſmall minority* who perform the farce of electing, is rendered of no value by the uſurpations of others. Neither is it poſſible to ſee how our LIBERTIES are to be preſerved, unleſs the Houſe of Commons be not only freely elected by the maſs at leaſt of the people, but perfectly free alſo from any influence of the Peers or the Crown. If, indeed, we have no unchriſtian, and oppreſſive diſtinctions amongſt us reſpecting creeds; and if we are truly and effectively repreſented in the Legiſlature, then indeed we are in "the full "enjoyment of our rights and liberties, both "religious and civil:" But if, in theſe two eſſential points, the contrary be notorious, what are we to think of the deſign of this modeſt Proclamation?

Does not Mr. Pitt know the grievous defects in the repreſentation of the Commons? Are not theſe the very evils which he pledged himſelf, as a *Man* and a *Miniſter*, if poſſible, to remove? And muſt he not know this to be the true CAUSE of the "jealouſies and "diſcontents of the people?" If there be

any clamour amongſt the children of the State, it is for the wholeſome bread of *repreſentation*. Will he then adviſe their father, inſtead of this bread, to give them a ſtone, or a canon ball? Or does he expect to ſatisfy the cravings of their hunger, by an empty ſpeech, or a high ſounding hollow proclamation, modeſtly aſſerting that they have no cauſe of complaint?

If any writings have been circulated, which were calculated to raiſe "*groundleſs* "jealouſies and diſcontents," ſilence but the *real* ones by DOING JUSTICE, and thoſe which are *groundleſs* will ſoon be heard of no more. And if the writings ſuppoſed to be alluded to, meaning thoſe of Mr. Paine, contain any abſtract ſpeculations on government, from whence it might be inferred that in his opinion, a Conſtitution of a different form from that of *Britain*, deſerves a preference, is it conſiſtent with the virtue and wiſdom expected in a Miniſter, or even with common ſenſe, to leave that conſtitution mangled by wicked abuſes, and diſgraced by loathſome corruptions, which *will juſtify ſuch preference*;

preference; inſtead of inſtantly reſtoring it to its true principles, and then holding it forth in compariſon? Is not thus to bring the Conſtitution into the conflict with its load of diſeaſes upon it far worſe than ſedition? Is it not treachery of the fouleſt kind? Ill then does it become the hypocrite who acts ſuch a part, to attempt plucking out motes from the eyes of his brethren, while he refuſes to pluck out the beam which is in his own eyes.

Could the Proclamation have contained a diſſolution of Parliament, and an invitation to the people to have elected a body of repreſentatives in juſt proportions to population, and in the choice of which "ALL" his Majeſty's "loving ſubjects," ſhould have taken their part, would it not have charmed to ſilence all diſcontent, and laid at reſt every ſpeculation which carried the mind beyond the line of our antient Conſtitution? Peace, unanimity, joy, and happineſs, would have beamed through the land; and diſtant indeed might have been the day, when any beſides the philoſopher in his cloſet, would have queſtioned

queſtioned whether hereditary privileges were or were not, beneficial in a State.

So little do the public in general bear an enmity to nobles, merely as ſuch, that the people, we may reſt aſſured, would have no objection to a very conſiderable increaſe of the number, provided it were made ſubſervient to a public benefit. As there is one way in which ſuch an increaſe might be a means of reſtoring the conſtitution, I ſhall propoſe it. In order to reconcile all deſcriptions of our preſent electors, and borough-holders, to a complete and equal repreſentation of the people, let each body of electors, once for all, elect as many Peers of the realm as they now return members to the Houſe of Commons; and confer, if they chooſe it, theſe elective Peerages on the higheſt bidder. Each county to elect two Dukes; a city, two Marquiſſes; a populous town corporate, two Earls; each univerſity, two Viſcounts; and every borough, as many Barons as they now chooſe burgeſſes. London, of courſe, four Marquiſſes; and Scotland, Peers of ſuch

rank and in ſuch proportion as ſhall be equivalent to its proper repreſentation. A ſuitable qualification in property and character on the part of the candidates, might be neceſſary to prevent a degradation of the peerage. All diſputes concerning borough patronage would be prevented by the plan itſelf: for if a borough-property would *command* the election, the proprietor would have the peerages to diſpoſe of; and if his patronage or aſcendency were only partial, he would come in for ſuch preciſe ſhare of the profit as that patronage was worth. Such elective bodies as are actually free, might either confer the honour gratis, or ſet upon it a price, and apply the money to ſome public and uſeful purpoſe. As theſe Peerages no doubt would fetch large ſums, I think the electors and borough-holders, now that a ſpirit of reform is abroad, and the RIGHTS of MAN are ſo well underſtood, would very gladly embrace the offer. Thus a complete repreſentation might be had without a murmur, and without coſting the nation a farthing: Whereas, by Mr. Pitt's plan of 1784, had it been adopted,

adopted, a very imperfect repreſentation was to have coſt in the firſt inſtance ONE MILLION of public money, and additional ſums in future. The plan now offered would complete the reform at once; whereas the Miniſter's plan would have been tediouſly progreſſive, and ſubject to have been overthrown before fully ſecured; and even if it ever arrived at full completion, would ſtill have left a great majority of the people unrepreſented, and the elections under the certain influence of the Ariſtocracy.

In reſpect to thus ſetting up honours to ſale, it need only be obſerved, that honours in a ſtate have often been ſold leſs honourably; not even excepting thoſe diſpoſed of towards ſuppreſſing the Ulſter rebellion; an evil no way dangerous to the Conſtitution. As ſome of the many Peerages confered by the preſent Miniſter have been to *proprietors of boroughs*, it is to be hoped, that in caſe the hint now given ſhould be adopted, thoſe noble perſonages would not demand to be twice paid, but allow the Peerages already received to be ſet off in the account.

Were

Were it poſſible for his Majeſty to be well adviſed in this matter, it ſhould ſeem that no objection to *free* Parliaments could occupy *his* boſom; unleſs he had loſt his recollection, and all ſenſe of the affection ſhewn him by the people in the times of his own perſonal diſtreſs and danger. Can he forget his two narrow eſcapes from *factious combinations in two corrupt Houſes of Commons*, in the memorable *coalition* and *regency* ſtruggles? Can he forget *the people's indignation* at the treatment he on thoſe occaſions received? Can he forget the manifeſtations then given, that, although factions, and Miniſters, and Kings, by iniquity or oppreſſion, may render themſelves the objects of public cenſure, royalty itſelf, *conſtitutionally exiſting and acting*, is yet dear to the people of this country? If the people's conduct towards their King on thoſe trying occaſions can be ungratefully forgotten, or ſhould thoſe unequivocal inſtances of attachment fail to convince him of his own perſonal ſafety in their conſtitutional freedom, neither would he believe though one roſe from the dead. And can the pre-

ſent Miniſter himſelf *look back to thoſe two periods*, and now adviſe his Sovereign to iſſue a proclamation evidently intended to damp the ſpirit of Parliamentary Reform, by which alone the rights and liberties of the people can be either recovered or preſerved?

But hold: Am I not about to cenſure without cauſe? Am I not myſelf too ſhort-ſighted, to comprehend the long views and the profound policy of this able Stateſman? It muſt be ſo. I ſee the error into which I had nearly fallen; and now I truſt that I have penetrated the myſtery of the Miniſter's conduct. He is ſtill, as I think I perceive, the ſincere friend to reform, the virtuous patriot which we thought him ten years ago; but knows that to declare himſelf openly would loſe him his ſituation, and fruſtrate his great deſigns in favour of the liberties of his country. From his experience as a cabinet and confidential Miniſter, and from the complete inſight which he has thereby obtained into the character of man, when once

elevated

elevated above his ſpecies, he appears to have been converted to the new doctrine in politics which is very generally adopted on the other ſide of the Atlantic, and has already made its appearance in Europe. Being ſatisfied, as I preſume from his conduct he is, that where hereditary nobility with ſplendid ſenatorial powers, and hereditary royalty with magnificent prerogatives, are eſtabliſhed, there popular liberty cannot eaſily maintain its ground; and holding at the ſame time that whatever is found incompatible with, or highly dangerous to, popular freedom, ought to be aboliſhed, he appears bent upon the downfal of thoſe orders, and ſeems to have taken his ground with great judgment, as well as to have commenced his operations with ſpirit. The operations, indeed, to ordinary eyes, carry a face of hoſtility towards freedom: But herein conſiſts the grand ſecret of the ſyſtem; for unleſs he could miſlead the parties he means to undermine, how could he deſtroy them? As when a demagogue aſpires at becoming the tyrant of his coun-

try, he always pretends an uncommon devotion for liberty; ſo when a Stateſman who having once wormed himſelf into the confidence of Kings or Nobles, meditates their expulſion, he lures them to their deſtruction by an affected zeal for their intereſts, and by taking a lead in ſome extraordinary courſes, for retaining and augmenting any unwarrantable and dangerous powers of which they may be poſſeſſed. It is thus that he contrives to embroil them with the people; without which, his ſcheme could never be brought to bear. It is by appearing to exert the full force of miniſterial influence in favour of the elevated orders, that he tempts them into a conduct at once unjuſt, arrogant, and raſh; and by putting on at the ſame time a carriage of treachery and inſolence towards the people, they are judiciouſly rouzed and animated to a vindication of their rights. The very conduct that produces theſe effects inſures him the continuance of his place; ſo that he continues ſecurely to officiate as the go-between, until on the one hand he works up oppreſſion and incroachment; and on the other

other hand, reſentment and reſiſtance, to the neceſſary pitch for effecting his grand purpoſe. It was by ſuch a truly patriot, though unpopular, conduct, that the confidential Miniſters of *James* II. contrived the expulſion of that miſguided Prince and his family; although, through the conſtitutional ſentiments of the Whigs, thoſe Miniſters did not ſucceed in aboliſhing monarchy altogether. But we have ſince ſeen, in the American Revolution, better ſucceſs to attend the more unfortunate Lord *North;* who, though things were not ripe for his purpoſe in one part of the empire, yet he completely ſucceeded in the other; for he not only defended the people of *America* from preſent oppreſſion, but he freed them for ever from the evils of hereditary royalty and hereditary nobility. On occaſion of both thoſe memorable revolutions, the Miniſters would never have ſerved ſo effectually the great cauſe of liberty, had they not reſpectively aſſumed the characters of the moſt ſervile creatures of arbitrary power. *Royal proclamations* and *votes of the two Houſes* were on both thoſe occaſions manufactured

factured by theſe able Stateſmen; and the deception on the Prince upon the throne was in each inſtance rendered complete, by the numberleſs *addreſſes* which were procured from all parts of the kingdom. Our preſent Miniſter, therefore, who thus treads in the paths of political experience, and whoſe firmneſs in directing the ſtorm he is raiſing none can doubt, ſeems to have grounds of the cleareſt probability for promiſing himſelf an event as glorious as either of the revolutions which he ſeems to have ſtudied with ſo much care and benefit. Lord *North*, it is allowed, would not have carried his point, had it not been for the advice and aſſiſtance of his friend *Franklin*. Unfortunately obliged to wear the maſk of enmity towards his friend, their perſonal intercourſe was cut off: But this inconvenience was at length obviated, by the Philoſopher's compoſing for his Lordſhip's uſe, that admirable Eſſay, entitled, "*Rules for reducing a great Empire to a ſmall* "*one*." By diligently ſtudying, and by as cloſely adhering to thoſe ſound maxims, that excellent Miniſter managed, at the moderate

derate expence of one hundred millions of money, and the trifling conſideration of about one hundred thouſand Britiſh lives, to get rid at laſt of thirteen colonies. Why, then, need Mr. *Pitt* to deſpair of diſcarding one royal family and a houſe of nobles? Superſtitiouſly attached to royalty and nobility as the people of this country are, it is a ſuperſtition of which they may undoubtedly be cured. *America* had as ſuperſtitious a partiality to her Parent State, as that Parent State now has to the offices of a King and of Nobles. There is ſo much affinity between the two caſes, that ſimilar means will do the buſineſs. The American Philoſopher's inſtructions for reducing the ſize of an empire, if but ſlightly varied and modelled to the preſent caſe, would become excellent "*Rules* "*for rooting out Royalty and Nobility from* "*Great Britain;*" as may eaſily be imagined from the few ſhort quotations given in the margin *. To oblige his new friend *Pitt*, a certain

* Speaking of the Americans, *Franklin* ſays, "If they "happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in "revolution principles; remember all that to their prejudice, "and

a certain Iriſh Philoſopher might, doubtleſs, be prevailed upon to become the Editor of this new

" and contrive to puniſh it: For ſuch principles, after a re-
" volution is thoroughly eſtabliſhed, are of no more uſe;
" they are even odious and abominable."

" They will probably complain to your Parliament, that
" *they are taxed by a body in which they have no repreſentative*,
" and that this is contrary to common right. They will pe-
" tion for redreſs. Let the Parliament flout their claims, re-
" ject their petitions, refuſe even to ſuffer the reading of
" them, and treat the petitioners with the utmoſt contempt.
" Nothing can have a better effect, &c."

After propoſing ſome judicious meaſures for provoking and harraſſing the people, he ſays—" Then let there be a formal
" *Declaration of both Houſes*, that oppoſition to your edicts is
" *treaſon*, &c."

Again: " If you are told of *diſcontents*, never believe that
" they are general, or that *you* have given occaſion for them;
" therefore, do not think of applying any remedy, or of
" changing any offenſive meaſure. *Redreſs no grievance, leſt*
" *they ſhould be encouraged to demand the redreſs of ſome other*
" *grievance. Grant no requeſt that is juſt and reaſonable, leſt they*
" *ſhould make another that is unreaſonable.*"

Again: " Believe nothing you hear from *the friends of the*
" *people*. Suppoſe all *their* complaints to be invented and
" promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom if you
" could catch and hang, all would be quiet. Catch and hang
" a few

New Verſion of the *Rules;* and in caſe the Miniſter ſhould at any time ſtand in need of a *prompter* during his performance of the character of the hero in this drama of deluſion, the obliging Mr. *Dundas*, I think, may be depended on for rendering him that good office. As the CROWN ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, Members for all *the Government-boroughs*, beſides ſecuring to its intereſts many other Members by *places* and *penſions*, excluſive of the attachments ariſing from *expectation;* and as the *Peers* literally place in the ſaid Houſe Members by *hundreds*, the Miniſter will have no difficulty in perſuading theſe parties, that this democratic branch of the conſtitution is a ſort of *Poland* to be partitioned out between them; and *if any reform ſhould therein be attempted*, it will furniſh an

" a few of them accordingly; and the blood of the Martyrs " ſhall work miracles in favour of your purpoſe, &c."

Although theſe excellent rules were by the generality in this country, *and particularly by the three branches of our Legiſlature*, held for a while extremely cheap, yet when the final accompliſhment of their object was effected, full juſtice was done to the Philoſopher who had formed, but *not* to the Stateſman who had ſo well applied them.

excellent plea for new invaſions and incroachments. Uſurpation followed by poſſeſſion ſoon ſtands for *right*. Hence the aggreſſors will eaſily be made jealous, oppreſſive, and vindictive; while the people, ſenſible that in loſing their repreſentation they loſe their liberty, cannot poſſibly decline the conteſt; and, when once completely rouzed, cannot fail to conquer. If there ſhould be any difficulty in this caſe, it will be that of urging on the Crown and the Nobles to ſufficient exceſſes, for creating that exaſperation on the part of the people, which ſhould determine them, when victorious, utterly to root out all hereditary privileges: But here we ought to take into the account the new political notions which are daily gaining ground, and alſo to place in the Miniſter's abilities that unlimited *confidence* which he has ſo long been accuſtomed to receive from our repreſentatives. Giving him credit for his good intentions towards the people, I have been inſenſibly led into a mode of expreſſion, as if I approved of the ſcheme which I ſuppoſe him to have formed; whereas I do moſt ſincerely wiſh,

that the royal and noble perſonages whom it concerns would take warning in time, and completely defeat his inſidious deſign, by uniting with the people in reſtoring that conſtitution which their common intereſt, as well as juſtice, honour, and freedom requires them and us to reſtore and preſerve.

The Proclamation artfully affects great anxiety for preſerving a due reſpect to " the " wiſe and wholeſome proviſions made at " the time of the glorious Revolution, and " ſince *ſtrengthened and confirmed* for the " preſervation and ſecurity of the rights and " liberties of the King's faithful and loving " ſubjects." Thus to make a pompous parade of " wiſe and wholeſome proviſions," for the good of the people, the moſt eſſential of which have ſince been blown away by the breath of Kings and of Nobles, is to treat the people with that ſpecies of mockery which is peculiarly calculated to irritate them; and therefore was a good thought. It is well known that at the time of the Revolution, it had for more than one thouſand

years been the acknowledged birth-right of Engliſhmen, confirmed by many ſtatutes, to elect a *new* Parliament, once at leaſt, in every year. It was reſerved for our *glorious deliverer* to undermine this right. Within little more than ſix years after the Revolution, he and the Whigs of that day paſſed the triennial bill, which, artfully enacting that no Parliament ſhould have *any longer continuance* than for three years, while they were in conſequence unconſtitutionally *kept together* FOR three years, to all intents and purpoſes eſtabliſhed ſuch a continuance *againſt the people*, although, by reaſon of the power of expulſion reſerved to the King, they could not exiſt *againſt the Crown* for a moment.

And if the proviſion of this Act for preventing a *longer* continuance to a Parliament than *three years*, had in it, when comparatively conſidered, any portion of what was "wiſe and wholeſome;" even this again was repealed and done away, about two and twenty years afterwards, by the firſt King of the Houſe of Hanover and another ſet of Whig Miniſters. Are theſe the inſtances of

ſtrengthening

ſtrengthening and *confirming* alluded to in the Proclamation? Or are we to look for them in the *repeal* of thoſe proviſions, whereby Privy Counſellors were made reſponſible by their ſignatures for their advice in Council; and in the *repeal* and *parliamentary evaſion* of thoſe other proviſions whereby placemen and penſioners were intended to be *excluded* from the Houſe of Commons? Or was our Conſtitution *ſtrengthened and confirmed* by the invention of *funding* introduced *after* the Revolution; which happy diſcovery enabled Miniſters to ſaddle the country with a debt of near three hundred millions in one hundred years; as well as to make moſt ample amends to the crown in *influence*, for what it had loſt in *prerogative* at the expulſion of the Stuarts?

With regard to ſeditious books, ſeditious meetings, and ſeditious correſpondence, theſe are charming proclamation-themes; eſpecially when it is contrived to inſinuate ſedition againſt thoſe whoſe aim it is to reſtore the Conſtitution to its true principles; and when all who are intereſted in the abuſes, by which the people

are

are cheated out of their proper repreſentation in Parliament are brought forward to join in the cry: Becauſe theſe mercenaries by ſuch ſkirmiſhing are trained on to more ſerious exertions againſt freedom; and the people are taught to think, that not to ſuppreſs ſedition, but to ſmother liberty, is the true deſign, which naturally fills them with jealouſy, and ripens that diſpoſition to reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion which is in general but a ſluggiſh principle. As all this ſmoke without any fire might have betrayed the farce that was acting, it was neceſſary, whether with or without juſt cauſe, to commence a proſecution; which has accordingly been done againſt the publiſher of RIGHTS OF MAN. Whether the Jury ſhall or ſhall not find a verdict for the Crown, yet the proſecution cannot fail to work advantageouſly for the Miniſter's purpoſe. As that work, with all its blemiſhes, is allowed to contain excellent matter in favour of civil and religious liberty, and certainly expoſes ſome of the corruptions of government, *that* of courſe will be thought by many to be the true reaſon

ſon for the proſecution, and diſcontent will be increaſed accordingly. Had the corruptions which that book expoſes been reformed and no proſecution undertaken, the work would ſoon have been forgotten, and the Miniſter's ſuppoſed plan for aboliſhing royalty and nobility might have ſuffered very materially; but it is now well-contrived, that the continuance of the corruptions, the undertaking of that proſecution, and a proclamation by the *King*, backed by the Nobles, ſhall together give the work additional celebrity; and perſuade the people that the favour and protection of the Crown and the Nobles will be extended to thoſe who invade, and their vengeance exerciſed on thoſe who vindicate popular rights. By thus artfully raiſing the reputation of a book, in which it is more than inſinuated that both Royalty and Nobility are not only uſeleſs, but burthenſome and inconvenient in a State, the Miniſter, with great policy, prepares for gradually wearing out the prejudices of the people in favour of thoſe inſtitutions.

" We

" We have alſo reaſon to believe," ſays the Proclamation, " that correſpondencies " have been entered into with ſundry per- " ſons in foreign parts"—and ſo there were by the beſt patriots of this country in 1688, or elſe the " *glorious* Revolution," which the Proclamation ſpeaks of with ſo much admiration, had never been brought about. One remarkable difference, however, diſtinguiſhes the correſpondencies of thoſe days with *Holland*, from the correſpondencies of theſe days with *France:* The former were in the dark; the preſent are in open day-light. Thoſe were managed by confidential agents; theſe are carried on in the news-papers. To ſerve the cauſe of freedom was the object of both; an object fit to be promoted by every honourable means within the power of honeſt men. As to correſpondencies with *foreigners*, for " CRIMINAL AND WICKED " PURPOSES;" whether thoſe men who are ſeeking *juſtice*, and contending for *a reform of grievous and ſcandalous abuſes*, a reform tending to eſtabliſh *freedom*, to preſerve the *Conſtitution*, and thereby to perpetuate *Royalty* and *Nobility* in this country; and whoſe correſpondencies

reſpondencies are *open;* or whether thoſe who are *reſiſting* that juſtice, *oppoſing* that reform; and by involving the King and the Nobles in meaſures tending to ſubvert the Conſtitution they thereby *endanger the intereſts of all;* and who carry on correſpondencies and negociations with *deſpotic Princes*, and in *ſecret*, are moſt to be ſuſpected, the public will judge for themſelves. Thus, whether the Miniſter, in iſſuing this proclamation, be really the open enemy or the diſguiſed friend of freedom, it will in the end do the cauſe good ſervice.

What farther inclines me to imagine the Miniſter muſt have views, ſuch as I have ſuppoſed, is his calling upon the people for "confidence in the integrity and wiſdom of "Parliament;" becauſe it does not ſeem poſſible to believe that he has any ſuch confidence himſelf. Where is this confidence to reſt? On the branches ſeparately? Or in the whole united? Are we particularly to have confidence in the *crown*, becauſe, not ſatisfied with its own ſmall pittance of power and

 influence,

influence, it has poſſeſſed itſelf of all thoſe ſeats in the Houſe of Commons which are filled by the Treaſury, the Admiralty and Ordnance Boroughs; and becauſe ſo many other Members of that Houſe are in its pay? Are the *Lords* intitled to our confidence, becauſe not content with one entire branch of legiſlation, the dernier reſort in our juriſprudence, and all "the pride, pomp, and "circumſtance of glorious" Nobility, a conſiderable part of thoſe Lords have ſyſtematically and cunningly deſpoiled the people of the return of a vaſt proportion of their nominal repreſentatives? And then, what ſort of confidence is it that we are to place in a popular repreſentation thus reduced by the Crown and the Lords to an object of deriſion; and farther trodden in the dirt by private Borough-holders, by the *Nabob of Arcot*, the *Rajah of Tanjore*, the *Ex-Princes of France*, or any other foreign deſpots who may occaſionally find their account in dealing largely with our Borough-brokers? In 1782, we were informed by Mr. *Pitt**,

* May 7.

when

when he ſaid ſo much about the Boroughs at the diſpoſal of the *Treaſury*, that the *Nabob of Arcot* alone had ſeven or eight repreſentatives in our Houſe of Commons. When, in 1784, the Miniſter made another attempt to amend the repreſentation, he did not indeed enlarge ſo fully on its defects as he had done before; but it is evident that in neither of thoſe periods, could this branch of the Legiſlature have *his* confidence, or *why attempt its reform!* And if its pure *wiſdom and integrity* were *now* of themſelves ſufficient to inſpire him with this confidence, what need of his Treaſury boroughs, his obſequiouſneſs to Borough-holders, his lucrative offices dealt out amongſt the Members, and the *management* of the immaculate Mr. *Roſe?*

If ſuch, then, be our grounds of confidence in each of the branches of our Legiſlature ſeparately, it ſeems to follow, that, in what reſpects *a true conſtitutional popular repreſentation*, it is not poſſible for us to have any very ſtrong confidence in the three

united. Had not the nation's confidence in Parliament been ſo abuſed as it has been, to the great abridgement of our freedom, leſs need be ſaid; But when we have ſeen the Conſtitution and the Liberties of our country fall in a great degree a ſacrifice to this confidence, it becomes an important duty to ſociety to lay before them the honeſt truth, be the danger of ſpeaking that truth what it may. Is Parliament more an object of confidence now, than it was in the reigns of Henry VI. or of William III. or of George I.? In the firſt of thoſe periods, Parliament cut off at one ſtroke ſix parts in ſeven, or probably a larger proportion, of the people from the rights of election. Happy fruit of a *confidence* in Parliament! In the ſecond period, Parliament, after ſitting five years and a half, which was *four and a half longer than the Conſtitution warranted*, paſſed the triennial bill, in which it was provided, that that very Parliament ſhould continue *two years longer*, completing in the whole *ſeven years and a half* before the people were to be allowed a new election. Are theſe the Acts for

for which Parliaments demand a nation's *confidence?* And again: In the laſt of thoſe periods which I have mentioned, when the people *confided* in being allowed to elect new repreſentatives at the end of *three* years, Parliament once more aſſumed a power of curtailing liberty, by enacting, that elections ſhould never be at ſhorter intervals than once in *ſeven* years, unleſs indeed *to accommodate the* CROWN, who might have them, if convenient, every ſeven months, or every ſeven weeks. And is it becauſe Parliament at preſent *continues to us theſe diſgraceful bonds and fetters*, that we are now called on to give it our confidence? Or becauſe it has in particular, within our memory, rejected in one Houſe the *Duke of Richmond's* Bill, and in the other Houſe, ſcouted the plans of Mr. *Pitt* for reforming abuſes unjuſt in the extreme, too notorious to be denied, and too groſs and abſurd to admit of palliation? When Parliament will reſpect the CONSTITUTION, the people will reſpect Parliament!

To come then, once more, to the main jet of the buſineſs, let us ſeriouſly and impartially

tially aſk ourſelves a few plain queſtions. If any thing has already been done towards *ſubverting the Conſtitution*, or, in the words of the Proclamation, towards "the ſubverſion "of all regular government within this king-"dom," where has lain the true criminality? Who have really been the guilty parties? The Proclamation inſinuates, and thoſe who ſhare the good things of government are ready enough to aſſert, that thoſe who do but imagine any thing to the diſadvantage of the Crown or the Nobles, are diſaffected; and wicked and ſeditious perſons. But without regard either to Courts or to Courtiers, to *ins*, or to *outs*, or becoming the dupes of any faction, or being diſturbed or miſled by any clamour, let every honeſt man lay his hand upon his heart, and, in the preſence of God and his country, ſay, whether the Crown and the Lords are, or are not, juſtly chargeable with the ſerious facts, the overt Acts which I have ſtated. If thoſe facts are too notorious to be denied; if they have left the Commons a repreſentation only in fiction and ſhadow, where is the Britiſh Conſtitution ſo much

much talked of? Where the government by *three* eſtates, which has been the admiration of mankind?—As to the Crown and the Lords, who have touched *their* rights? Who have invaded any privilege of *theirs?* Who have deſpoiled them, either by force, or by fraud, or by corruption, of one iota of their Conſtitutional Powers?—No; No: They poſſeſs untouched, undiminiſhed, all their own privileges and powers, and have kindly contrived to divide between them the greater part of *thoſe of the Commons alſo.* Having done this, it is wickedneſs and ſedition, as they tell us, to hint that Royalty and Nobility ſo acting, are hoſtile to public freedom. And if the Miniſter ſhall but ſteadily perſevere in practiſing the "*Rules for rooting out Royalty and Nobility from Great Britain,*" it will ſoon be called *treaſon* to complain of our injuries and demand our rights; becauſe that will afford the people ſtrong reaſon for concluding, that nothing ſhort of force will obtain them juſtice; than which nothing is ſo likely to make them enter in good earneſt into a quarrel with their ſuperiors.

It is worth remarking, that the King, the Lords, and the Lower Houſe, ſhould be ſo eaſily prevailed on by the Miniſter to give their concurrent ſanction to his Proclamation, firſt *ſuppoſing* dangers, and then *magnifying* theſe creations of the imagination; when the utmoſt of the ſort that could exiſt, might be effectually cruſhed by the ſingle arm of the Attorney-General: While all the time they can behold with the utmoſt tranquillity, the moſt important branch of the Legiſlature reduced almoſt to a ſtate of virtual annihilation, through the operation of the three ſtatutes to which I have referred, and the Borough incroachments and other abuſes of which I have already taken notice. When ſhall we have Proclamations, "warning the "King's loving ſubjects, as they tender their "own happineſs, and that of their poſterity, "to guard againſt" the fatal effects of *the infamous traffic in Boroughs*; of ſeats in the Houſe of *Commons* being uſurped by the repreſentatives of the *Lords*; or of *corrupting the people's deputies* by places and penſions to themſelves, or favours ſhowered down upon

upon the circle of their kindred?—Proclamations do not come forth, offering the people any assistance in recovering that controul over their own purse, by which they might be able to prevent the present taxes of SEVENTEEN MILLIONS ANNUALLY from swelling to double that amount; nor encouraging them to hope for *shorter Parliaments*. Neither are the Magistrates enjoined by Proclamation to become spies upon, and informers against, the Lords of the Admiralty, the Lords or Secretaries of the Treasury, *the Auditor of the Exchequer* or any other servants of the Crown, when they shall meddle with corrupt, profligate, riotous, and murderous elections, and contribute regular quotas towards the expences of the same. Amongst the Proclamations in support of "our happy Constitution of Government," one might at least expect that *the actual, practical, and long continued invasions of that Constitution in its most vital part*, might be noticed, with full as much propriety as a paragraph or two in a pamphlet.

Nor is it amongſt the leaſt of the inſtances of addreſs ſhewn by the Miniſter for working up the people, that he now objects to the TIME for a reform; becauſe the objection is ſo perfectly frivolous, and ſo palpably unfounded, as to be well adapted for impreſſing on their minds a conviction of his apoſtacy, and of his determination, if poſſible, completely to betray to the Crown and the Lords, the people's whole ſhare in the Government; which muſt be of the greateſt ſervice to his cauſe. The people remembering, that it was once ſaid, by a wiſe ſtateſman of antiquity, that "there is a time for all things," muſt needs be out of humour with the ſtateſman I am ſpeaking of, when he now gravely declares, that, although ten years ago I contended for a "PARLIAMENTARY REFOR-"MATION, WITHOUT WHICH," I ſaid, "NEITHER THE LIBERTY OF THE NATION "CAN BE PRESERVED, NOR THE PERMA-"NENCE OF A WISE AND VIRTUOUS AD-"MINISTRATION CAN BE SECURED *;"

* In an unanimous reſolution of a Meeting on the 18th of May, 1782, when Mr Pitt was preſent.

yet *the preſent is not a time* for ſuch a meaſure; and they will the more readily loſe their temper as all Miniſters without exception ever ſince the "Glorious Revolution" have uniformly objected to both *time* and *mode*, wherever any reform has been attempted. A time of war, a time of peace; a time of diſtreſs, a time of proſperity; a time of public diſturbance, and a time of general tranquillity; are all, it ſeems, in the eyes of courtiers, equally exceptionable. The true Engliſh of which appearing to be, that *the only time* when their conſent will ever be given, is, when the people ſhall *compel* the performance; our patriot ſtateſman, is conſtrained to act accordingly; ſo that by his preſent conduct and declarations, and the meaſures he cauſes to be taken, the people may be fully perſuaded that this is true, and may be inſtructed, while they curſe the Miniſter as a tool, to lay the principal blame at the door of the Crown and the Nobles. The more he can eſtabliſh the opinion that the Crown and the Nobles will never be ſatisfied, till they have engroſſed between them all the people's ſhare in the government, the

more of courſe the people will be diſpoſed to repay them in kind.

Brothertoft Farm,
June 23, 1792.

AN unforeſeen delay in the publication of this little work, has given me an opportunity of adding a few lines on the ſubject of a correſpondence with certain gentlemen in France, in which I had the honour of bearing a part; whereby it ſeems that I have given ſad offence to Mr. Baker, Mr. Curwen, Lord John Ruſſell, Mr. Dudley North, and Mr. Courtnay. It ſeems alſo, that theſe *anxious and conſiſtent aſſociators for a Parliamentary Reform*, have thought fit to withdraw themſelves from the Society of "The "Friends of the People," becauſe, forſooth, I was not expelled for having avowed the ſaid correſpondence, and given it my hand and

and ſignature *. Theſe gentlemen who conſider it as criminal to congratulate a Society of French Patriots on a Revolution in favour of their liberties, muſt have excellent notions of reſtoring the liberties of their own fellow-citizens! And their political morality muſt be of a moſt exalted kind, and on a moſt enlarged ſcale, who cannot endure an interchange of political philanthropy beyond the ſhores of their own petty iſland. The Addreſs from the Society for Conſtitutional information in London, to the Friends of the Conſtitution at Paris, commonly called Jacobins, is what I ſhall ever eſteem it a happineſs to have joined in. Neither the ridiculous cenſures of ſuch REFORMERS as Meſſrs. Baker and Co. nor the inſidious inſinuations in the Proclamations of ſuch a REFORMER as the Miniſter, can alter the nature of things, nor ſtamp with error or criminality, that which is intrinſically wiſe and virtuous.

* See their Letter of Seceſſion from the Society of the Friends of the People, aſſociated for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform; given in the Proceedings of that Society of the 9th of June, publiſhed in the Argus of the 11th; but did not come to my knowledge till yeſterday.

Such

Such cenſures and ſuch inſinuations may indeed miſlead, for a while, the ſhallow and weak-minded; but truth and freedom will, in the end, prevail, to the confuſion not only of their avowed adverſaries; but of thoſe alſo who, when foiled in all the manœuvres and hackneyed tricks of parliamentary faction, awkwardly attempt to maſquerade it before the people in the habit of patriotiſm. When the Miniſter ſhall file his information againſt me for the high crime of "*having entered* "*into a correſpondence with ſundry perſons in* "*foreign parts*," he will be provided with *five* jurymen at leaſt, who are capable of pronouncing the verdict of *guilty*, on the bare proof of *printing and publiſhing only*, without the ſmalleſt regard to the *matter*, although peradventure it ſhould conſiſt of ſentiments doing honour to human nature, and peculiarly adapted to benefit the good people of Great Britain, without the ſmalleſt inconſiſtency with law. But it is entertaining to obſerve, *from* whom theſe five *conſiſtent* perſons now avowedly differ, and *with* whom they ſeem to agree. They already differ from

from "The Friends of the People aſſociated "for the purpoſe of obtaining a Parliamen-"tary Reform," ſo irreconcileably as to have cauſed their voluntary ſeparation; and with particular abhorrence they fly off from one whoſe principle it has ever been, "fairly "and honeſtly to contend for the people's "rights in their full extent:" While, by expreſsly grounding their ſeceſſion upon ſuch a ſtrong reprobation of the Jacobin Society in France (including as I have ever underſtood all the great leaders of the Revolution, and the beſt friends to the preſent free Conſtitution of that kingdom) that even to write that Society a civil letter of congratulation and good wiſhes is criminal in their eyes, they perfectly agree, I doubt not, with our *conſiſtent* Miniſter, with all Borough-holders, and with the enemies of a Parliamentary Reform to a man; nor muſt we forget Meſſieurs the Kings of Pruſſia and Hungary, the late Monarch of Sweden, the amiable Empreſs of all the Ruſſias, and the French traitors now in arms againſt the liberties of their country.

With

With ſuch ſentiments, "no doubt, they "will in due time bring about that Reform "in the Britiſh Repreſentation, which they "are ſo anxious to obtain."

The Addreſs alluded to not having been of my own compoſition, I may be allowed to ſay of it, that, in my judgment, it was well calculated to weaken that wretched prejudice, which, for ſo many ages paſt, has taught two poliſhed, philoſophic, and Chriſtian nations to conſider each other as *natural* enemies, between whom there was to be no other ceſſation of mutual pillage and ſlaughter, than juſt ſufficient from time to time to draw breath when exhauſted in the abſurd conflict. In being inſtrumental towards the diffuſion of more juſt and virtuous ſentiments throughout the two Empires, I felt peculiarly happy. In circulating notions favourable to the freedom and peace of both, I thought I was doing the duty of a good citizen, of a man, and of a Chriſtian.

And when a conſpiracy of traitors and tyrants was armed againſt the new liberties of France,

France, and the patriots of that country knew not which way amongſt foreigners to look for a friend, I was proud to avow my ſympathy for their ſituation, and anxious to convince them that their cauſe was not indifferent to the friends of freedom in this country. Nor am I backward to expreſs it as my opinion, that the addreſs in queſtion will do honour to the pen which produced, and to the Society which adopted it, as long as a love of freedom and virtue ſhall be found amongſt men.

In the Society of Jacobins I have no perſonal acquaintance, and, conſiſting as I underſtand it does of ſeveral thouſands, very poſſibly it may contain ſome perſons of exceptionable morals. But it ſuffices with me, if, as a Society, it be the friend of *human freedom and happineſs*. What particular form of government either the majority or minority of that Society may in ſpeculation moſt approve, I know not. Provided only, that *human freedom and happineſs* be the grand object of the inſtitution and attention of the

Society, as from convincing evidence I hold to be the fact, it is a Society which I muſt love and reſpect. And why Engliſhmen attached to thoſe objects, and who wiſh to cultivate the important ſcience of civil government, which, in reſpect of temporal happineſs is of all others the maſter-ſcience, are not as freely to communicate with ſuch a Society, as a Critic or a Poet with the Academy of Belle Lettres, I am yet to learn. To bigots it may appear unorthodox: To the patrons of corruption it may cauſe alarm; To the prieſts of political popery, and to impoſtors, it may give offence: But it will not fail to meet with the approbation of wiſe and honeſt men, ſo long as freedom be the object, and virtue the guide, of ſuch intercourſe.

Had ſuch a communication of ideas ever ſince the revival of letters, been the conſtant practice of national ſocieties throughout Europe, not only France, but every other European

ropean nation had long ſince been emancipated; and the whole would probably by this time have been in the full enjoyment of the numberleſs bleſſings of freedom and peace. And had it been the principal occupation of Ambaſſadors to tranſmit to their own countries for adoption, all real improvements in government which they had opportunities of obſerving, how happy muſt the condition of mankind have been rendered ere now. But alas! the uſual office of Ambaſſadors, and the general policy of courts, have been of a different caſt.

As the five Seceders, in their farewell Epiſtle of the 4th of June, are pleaſed to advert to a certain paper from the Society for Conſtitutional Information, which (to uſe once more their own phraſe) had alſo my "hand *and* ſignature," I ſhall take occaſion to notice the remarks of two friends relative to that paper and its effects. One of them, who was preſent when that paper was pre-

ſented to Mr. Baker, then in the Chair of the Society of the Friends of the People, ſeeing the ſtrong effect it had upon that gentleman's nerves, and the new ſort of liberty in a public aſſembly which was taken by him, of reading a *ſerious* and *friendly* addreſs in an *ironical* and *contemptuous* manner, was unable to diſcover either the candour, or the propriety, or the reſpect to the meeting, ſhewn in ſuch an unprecedented proceeding. But having attended to the whole of the performance (for it was rather acting than reading) and given the matter a little conſideration, my friend was inclined to give Mr. Baker credit for intending it as an improvement in managing the debates of popular ſocieties; whereby a chairman could at once impart verbatim any addreſs to the Society, and at the ſame time without introducing an additional word, convey very clearly his own comment thereupon. An ingenious thought this for ſaving time in debate, which is an object of very conſiderable importance: But whether this

this advantage may not in ſome degree be counter-balanced, by the inconvenience of wholly perverting the meaning of every ſerious writing *ſo communicated*, is left for the judges of oratory and argument, and the critics on figures of ſpeech, to determine.

Another friend has remarked that the paper which has been alluded to, ſeems to have partaken of the qualities of Ithuriel's ſpear; and to have poſſeſſed a power, ſo very deſirable in theſe days, of proving of ſpirits, whether they were ſpirits of reform or ſpirits of faction; and he is perſuaded that the bliſsful regions of reformation will have cauſe to rejoice in its good effects.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

AT a meeting of the officers of the forty-ſecond regiment of militia, held by deſire of the Right Hon. Lord George Sutton, Colonel of the aforeſaid regiment at Hull, 13th November, 1778.

OFFICERS PRESENT.

G. J. PAKKYNS, Capt.	F. G. BYRON, Lieut.
G. NEVILE, ditto	FR. SUTTON, ditto
G. SUTTON, ditto	THOS. COOD, Enſign
J. KIRKE, ditto	J. MANNERS, ditto
Js. TRACEY, Capt. Lt.	R. S. NEWTON, ditto
R. BERKS, Lieut.	T. LITTLEWOOD, ditto
J. SMITH, ditto	P. ELLIS, ditto
S. HILL, ditto.	

Reſolved

Reſolved 1ſt. That the determination unanimouſly agreed to, on the militia being firſt raiſed, that all promotion of officers *ſhall go* in the regiment, be adhered to.

Reſolved 2dly. That ſuch officers whoſe riſe may be affected by the preſent vacancy, and who mean to offer for higher commiſſions, do produce their real qualifications, as no nominal ones can be poſſibly admitted.

Reſolved 3dly. That as Major Cartwright is the firſt in ſeniority, that he be immediately wrote to by the Colonel, to know whether he means to qualify according to the aforementioned determination.

Reſolved 4thly. That in caſe Major Cartwright and Capt. Parkyns do not qualify accordingly, that the Lieutenant-Colonelcy will then *devolve* to Capt. Nevile.

Captain Nevile in that caſe being willing to wave his claim to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy in favour of Lord John Clinton;

Query—

Query—Whether it meets with the ſenſe of the officers of the regiment.

Ayes - - Ten

Noes - - Four.

RICHARD BERKS,
Adjutant of the 42d Militia.

No. II.

AT a meeting of the officers of the 42d, or Nottinghamſhire regiment of militia held at Hull, 17th of December, 1778.

PRESENT,

Major *Cartwright* *.

Captains—*Parkyns*, *Cooper*, and *Kirke*.

Lieutenants—*Johnſon*, *Berks*, *Sampſon*, *Colliſhaw*, *Smith*, *Hill*, *Huthwaite*, *Byron*, and *Sutton*.

Enſigns—*Manners*, *Newton*, *Littlewood*, and *Ellis*.

Major Cartwright deſired to read the reſolutions of the meeting of the officers held on the 13th of November laſt, and read them

* Although preſent, *not a member of the meeting*; which he declined, that he might not vote on a queſtion in which he was perſonally intereſted.

accordingly; he then read alſo his letter of the 18th of November to the Adjutant, in anſwer to the interrogation put to him in thoſe reſolutions concerning his qualification, and repeated to the meeting, that he had actually, as in that letter expreſſed, regiſtered a real and legal qualification that he could ſerve upon with honour, and would maintain at law whenever it might be diſputed: He then requeſted to know whether the gentlemen preſent were ſatisfied that he had ſo regiſtered his qualification as he had declared, to which they unanimouſly anſwered in the affirmative.

Captain Cooper then ſucceſſively made the following motions; *viz.*

Firſt; That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the whole corps is intereſted in ſupporting the Major's claim to the vacant commiſſion of Lieutenant-Colonel; he having (according to the requeſt tranſmitted to him from a meeting of officers held at Hull the 13th of November laſt) entered a qualification with the Clerk of the Peace for the ſaid commiſſion, which qualification the officers

can

can poſſibly not have the leaſt right to doubt, as the Major has farther aſſured them of its ſufficiency upon his honour.

Reſolved in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente.*

Secondly; As Captain Parkyns has given the like teſtimony of his qualification, the meeting is anxiouſly and unanimouſly of opinion that he ſhould ſucceed, as eldeſt Captain, to the majority.

Reſolved in the affirmative, *nem. con.*

Thirdly; The meeting are alſo of opinion, that if Lord John Clinton was to ſucceed to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, it would be an injury to Captain Cooper; as it would exclude Captain Cooper from the Commiſſion of Colonel in any future vacancy; for which Commiſſion, he is the only officer in the regiment that has ſet forth a qualification.

Reſolved in the affirmative, *nem. con.*

Fourthly; That it is the opinion of the officers at this meeting, that ſo long as the officers behave themſelves like ſuch, and can produce legal qualifications, all riſe ought to go in the regiment. And they determine to

pray for a proper court of inquiry on the conduct of ſuch officer who may at any time be ſuperſeded, as they cannot think of doing duty with an officer that had a ſlight thrown upon his character, till the cauſe of ſuch ſlight ſhall have been fully cleared up; as it is preſumed the Duke of *Newcaſtle* would not object to an officer who had ſerved in the regiment on ſlight grounds; and without ſome reaſon for having a bad opinion of his character.

Reſolved in the affirmative, *nem. con.*

Fifthly; That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the afore-mentioned reſolves be ſent to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle.*

Reſolved in the affirmative, *nem. con.*

G. J. PARKYNS, Captain,
Preſident.

N. B. Captain Lieutenant Tracey and Lieutenant Cood were not preſent, but have ſeen the afore-mentioned motions, and agreed to the whole.

G. J. PARKYNS, Captain,
Preſident.

No. III.

No. III.

PLAN for providing the navy with an immediate, a complete, and a perpetual ſupply of ſhip-timber, equal to its greateſt known conſumption, by means of the royal foreſts and chaces.

1. Survey all foreſts, chaces, and other waſte lands of the crown or the public, and delineate them on maps.

2. Satisfy all legal claimants, by giving them land equivalent to their reſpective claims *.

3. Then value all the land that remains, diſtinguiſhing it accordingly upon the maps.

4. Let the commiſſioners who value proceed upon *the ſuppoſition* that the land is already divided by ſufficient fences into plots of 50 acres each, and lies within convenient

* Unleſs upon the whole, there may be a deficiency of land for the purpoſes of the plan. In that caſe it may be more expedient to give an equivalent in money.

diſtances of the dwellings of its occupiers; that it is alſo to be free from the preſent land-tax and from tithes of any kind.

5. Divide it into lots, valued at 2000l. per annum.

6. Where there may be oak-timber growing, let the ſame alſo be valued accurately.

7. Put each lot valued as above (making allowances for the timber thereupon) at 2000l. per annum, into the poſſeſſion of a private perſon by a grant from the crown, to him and his heirs ſpecial for ever, with expreſs proviſions for keeping it for ever indiviſible. Let the grantee be Lord of the Manor, and hold his grant, upon the ſole condition of paying a quit rent in ſhip timber and plank, of the yearly value of 1000l; having at all times power of conveying or bequeathing his ſaid grant to any ſubject of Great Britain *.

* If upon calculating the expences of incloſing, clearing, draining, building, &c. theſe terms ſhall be thought too beneficial to the grantee, he may be made to pay for his grant ſuch a premium as ſhall leave him only ſo much emolument as may induce him to embrace the conditions of its tenure.

8. The

8. The ſaid timber and plank to be delivered yearly, on or before a certain day, into ſome one royal dock-yard, to be named in the grant.

9. The quantity of ſuch timber and plank to be ſo delivered for 10000l. to be aſcertained by five commiſſioners, according to what in their judgment it might be delivered at, upon an average, for ten ſucceſſive years from the date of the grant. The Commiſſioners to have no connection or contract with government, nor any intereſt directly or indirectly with reſpect to the grants.

10. The Navy Board to ſet forth a table, containing every diſtinct claſs of oak-timber and plank uſed in the dock-yards, and the Commiſſioners to make their calculations upon each of the diſtinct claſſes ſeparately. This table of claſſes and value to be recited at large in every grant.

11. The Navy Board alſo to eſtimate the proportion of each of the ſaid claſſes of timber and plank which each dock-yard would require;

require; as alſo the proportion due from each grantee, ſo that all the grantees may be required to deliver equal quotas of every claſs, and none other, except with their own conſent; or except as hereafter is excepted. The table of proportions to be alſo recited at large in every grant.

12. But if the public ſervice ſhould at any time acquire an alteration in this mode of delivery, the ſame to be certified to the Admiralty by the Navy Board, and orders to the grantees to be by the Admiralty thereupon given accordingly; allowing, however, three years notice to the grantee, and informing him from which of the other claſſes he is to deduct timber or plank equivalent in value to that which is newly demanded of him.

13. Each grantee to have a right to deliver in more than his proper annual ſupply within any year, ſo far as to the amount of 250l. and to have credit for the ſame; which credit ſhall ſerve inſtead of a future delivery of timber or plank of the ſame claſſes, but no other.

14. When

14. When timber or plank carried by land ſhall arrive at the dock-yard, report to be made at the office of the ſtore-keeper *; and the ſaid timber or plank to be unloaded in whatever part of the yard the ſaid ſtore-keeper, or, in caſe of his abſence, the next in authority in his office, ſhall appoint.

15. But with regard to timber or plank carried by water, the delivery, ſo far as may relate to the forfeiture of the grant, to be eſteemed duly performed, ſo ſoon as the ſame ſhall arrive in the harbour where the dock ſhall be ſituated, or, if on a river, within half a mile of the dock-yard. Report to be made as above, and the timber and plank brought to ſuch place or ſucceſſive places within the bounds of the ſaid yard, as the ſaid ſtore-keeper ſhall direct; and the full delivery thereof ſhall be eſteemed to be completed as ſoon as it ſhall be put into the boats, veſſels, ſlings, faſts, or ſecurities of his Majeſty, or laid on any wharf, or landing-place of the dock-yard.

* The maſter ſhipwright had been alſo mentioned in this clauſe, but it ſeems better that a grantee ſhould have no dependence on any but the ſtore-keeper.

16. If any ſtore-keeper, or other perſon employed in the dock-yard, ſhall unneceſſarily detain or impede the ſervants of the grantee in the delivery of any timber or plank, the party aggrieved to recover of the *ſtore-keeper* treble damages and treble coſts of ſuit, provided the proſecution be commenced within one year. Every ſuch cauſe to be firſt tried by a ſpecial jury of the county. If the ſtore-keeper himſelf be abſent from duty with leave of the Admiralty, then the perſon next in authority under him to be anſwerable as above. And if ſuch perſon, or ſuch ſtore-keeper, ſhall not be the actual offender, he ſhall nevertheleſs be the ſole perſon anſwerable to the grantee or his ſervants, for whatever delay or impediment may be wilfully given at the dock-yard to the receipt, admeaſurement or depoſiting of the timber or plank, or in giving certificates of the delivery into his Majeſty's ſtores; having at the ſame time his remedy at law againſt the actual offender or offenders. And for every offence of this kind, as well as for every fraud, in claſſing the timber to the prejudice of the grantee, in the ſum of 50l.

and upwards, the actual offender to forfeit his office or employment, and be incapable of ever holding any other beneficial employment under the Crown. The ſtore-keeper or perſon next in authority under him as aforeſaid, ſtill being the only perſon anſwerable to the *grantee* in this behalf.

17. If any officer or other perſon, employed in a dock-yard ſhall extort, demand, aſk, or receive from any grantee, his agent or ſervant, any bribe, fee, gratuity, or preſent whatſoever, directly or indirectly, on account or pretence of expedition, ſervice, or favour, in reſpect to the delivery or receipt of any timber or plank, his office or employment to be forfeited, and the diſqualification abovementioned to take place.

18. Provided the ſtore-keeper or maſter-ſhipwright ſee occaſion to object to any timber or plank of a grantee, a ſurvey to be had upon oath by three indifferent perſons; and the opinion of the majority of them to determine the quality of the ſame. If unſound, it ſhall nevertheleſs be detained by

the ſtore-keeper, meaſured and entered in his books, to be applied to ordinary uſes; but no receipt ſhall be given for it; and at or before the time appointed for completing the next annual delivery, the grantee to deliver in an equal quantity of ſound timber in lieu thereof, over and above his regular ſupply.

19. All the preſent foreſt laws to be repealed, and the granted lands to be made unalienable by any means whatever, except by forfeiture for non-performance of conditions, or elſe by ſale or transfer of the grant, with all its obligations entire and undivided; which ſale or transfer to be made to only one perſon, and not to any partnerſhip or joint-ſharers whatever. The perſon to whom ſuch grant ſhall be ſold or transferred to give notice thereof to the Treaſury and Admiralty Boards within one month, on pain of forfeiting the ſum of ——.

20. For the firſt four years, a failure to deliver in the requiſite quantity of timber and plank as it becomes due not to be a cauſe of forfeiture, provided that, in each of the

the ſaid four years, at leaſt one half ſhall be duly delivered in, and the whole before the expiration of the ſaid four years. For the next three years, the like indulgence, in caſe two thirds ſhall be regularly delivered, and the whole before the expiration of the term; and for the next two years, the like indulgence, provided three-fourth parts be regularly delivered, &c.

21. After the expiration of all thoſe terms, making in the whole nine years, a failure to deliver in one-twentieth part of the annual quit rent of timber or plank in any year, to be for ever after good and ſufficient cauſe of forfeiture.

22. And provided there be in any one future year a deficiency in the delivery, amounting to leſs than one-twentieth part, the grantee to deliver in inſtead thereof, double the quantity before the expiration of the next ſucceſſive year. And if any grantee thus run in debt ſmall quantities from year to year, (the ſame continuing to double every year) until his whole debt accumulate to one

twentieth

twentieth part of his annual quit rent, his grant to be thereby forfeited. And the rule for eſtimating ſuch deficiencies to be, by admeaſurement and value; agreeable to the original table recited as beforementioned in the grant.

23. But upon proof that the timber or plank of any grantee was ſhipped or loaded in proper time, and that its regular delivery had been prevented by unforeſeen accidents, of a nature to afford a reaſonable cauſe of juſtification, ſuch as contrary winds, ſhipwreck, roads ſuddenly rendered impaſſable, and the like, then the forfeiture of the grant not to take place, provided diligence be uſed in replacing every deficiency, and no appearance of intentional neglect or delay is diſcoverable to a Jury.

24. In every caſe of a forfeiture of a grant, the whole of the dwellings, buildings, and erections of every kind, and all fences, fixtures, or improvements, and all timber whether filled or growing thereupon, and belonging to the grantee at the commencement

ment of the proſecution to be forfeited alſo; but not the ſtock, cattle, hay, corn, furniture, or moveables, nor growing crops belonging to any tenant or tenants, then occupying the whole or any part of the grant.

25. It is not to be lawful for his Majeſty or his ſucceſſors, or for any Miniſter or ſervant of the Crown, to excuſe any grantee from duly performing the condition of his grant; but on the contrary, it ſhall be the duty of the Comptroller of the Navy to proſecute for every failure in the due delivery of the timber or plank, on pain of loſing his office for any omiſſion therein. If nevertheleſs he ſhall neglect for one year to commence his proſecution, it ſhall then be lawful for any ſubject of Great Britain to proſecute in his or her own name; and upon proof of the failure on the part of the grantee, the grant to be forfeited to ſuch proſecutor, and his heirs for ever, to be held by him or them on the ſame conditions as thoſe on which it was held by the original grantee. The record from the Court in which the

cauſe

cauſe was tried, to be to him and his ſaid heirs a good and ſufficient title to the grant.

26. In caſe of a forfeiture to the Crown, or of a lapſe to the Crown in default of heirs, every grant ſo forfeited or ſo lapſing, to be again granted to ſome other perſon under the ſign manual of his Majeſty; but without any power of altering the original conditions. And if his Majeſty ſhould not within the ſpace of forty days make ſuch freſh grant, then any ſubject of Great Britain who ſhould firſt demand to be put in poſſeſſion of ſuch vacant grant, to be to all intents and purpoſes the legal grantee. This demand to be made in writing of the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Treaſury, who thereupon ſhall immediately certify under their hands and the ſeal of their office, that, in conſequence of the ſaid demand, the demandant is become legal grantee of the grant in queſtion. Refuſing to grant ſuch certificate, the Lord High Treaſurer to forfeit 10,000l. or the firſt Lord Commiſſioner 3000l. and each inferior Commiſſioner 1000l. each.

27. From

27. From the day on which there ſhall ceaſe to be a legal grantee in poſſeſſion of any grant, untill it ſhall legally veſt in a new grantee, the tenants to pay their rents into the hands of a receiver to be appointed by the Court of Chancery, in truſt for the perſon who ſhall firſt become the legal grantee; and upon ſuch change, no new grantee to have a power of raiſing the rents for three years from the time of his obtaining poſſeſſion.

28. Every new grantee being thus ſecure of the profits of the grant from the commencement of the vacancy, he ſhall alſo be ſubject from the ſame period to the payment of the annual quit rent of timber and plank; being allowed only the ſame time for paying all arrears of timber or plank, as thoſe arrears have been in contracting before he got poſſeſſion.

29. If, notwithſtanding the intentions of keeping every grant undivided, any grantee ſhall by will or other inſtrument, attempt to divide the grant he holds amongſt two or

more perſons, it ſhall nevertheleſs go to one of thoſe perſons only; either to be ſettled by agreement amongſt themſelves, or by drawing of lots before the Judge of Aſſize in the County Court; and each party concerned to have an equal lot, notwithſtanding the grantee ſhould have intended to have made an unequal diviſion. If any one of them be a minor, or abſent, or ſhall refuſe to draw lots, the Judge to appoint ſome perſon to draw the lot of ſuch party. And in caſes of inheritance where there is no will or deviſe of the grant on the part of a deceaſed grantee, females ſhall inherit by ſucceſſion, and, by primogeniture, next after males, and not as co-heireſſes.

30. For the firſt 14 years each grantee to be allowed to deliver in foreign timber and plank only.

For the next 7 years,	6-8ths of foreign
For the next 7	5-8ths ditto.
For the next 7	4-8ths ditto.
For the next 7	3-8ths ditto.
For the next 7	2-8ths ditto.
For the next 7	1-8th ditto.

And

And after the expiration of all the ſaid terms, or the full term of fifty-ſix years, none but Britiſh timber or plank to be delivered in for ever.

31. Treſpaſſers in woods or nurſeries of young oak liable to damage, to pay ten-fold damages and treble coſts of ſuit; for wilfully breaking open any gate or fence thereof, a fine of 10l. beſides damages and coſts as above; if the breach be more than one yard wide, to pay 20l. &c.; if more than two, 30l. &c.; and ſo in proportion.

The Navy Board's eſtimate of the timber of all denominations, required for one year's conſumption in all the dock-yards, is,

	22,000 loads at 4l. 5s.	£.	93,500
And plank	3,792 - -		24,500
		£.	118,000

The foreſts and chaces in England only, are taken to contain 316,000 acres, at 15s. per acre, £. 237,000.

Beſides which, there are in Scotland the following foreſts; *viz.*

Falkland.	Linlithgow.
Scoon.	Dunſtaffnage.
Lochmaben.	Carirk.

But without theſe, thoſe before enumerated, if as extenſive as there ſet down, and the land be not over-rated, would be ſufficient for 118 grants and a half, producing timber to the amount of £. 118,500 per ann. which exceeds the demands of all the dock-yards by 500l. per ann. As Mr. J. Pitt, ſurveyor of the King's woods, reported to the Houſe of Commons in 1771, that the major part of the foreſts was fit for the growth of timber; it is conſequently fit for the beſt purpoſes of agriculture, and therefore is ſcarcely valued equal to its worth at 15s. per acre *. And as Mr. J. Pitt conceived that by cultivating the ſaid foreſts, an income much beyond what is here reckoned upon might be obtained from them: The above eſtimates in reſpect

* Free from tithes and land-tax, it may reaſonably be preſumed they would be worth one fourth more.

to

to the quantity of land, are probably within compaſs. But ſhould the land remaining to the public after ſatisfying all claimants be ever ſo little, that little had beſt be diſpoſed of before it become leſs by the continuance of encroachments; and the plan now offered is equally adapted to the purpoſe, whether the land to be applied for ſecuring us navy-timber be five thouſand acres, or five hundred thouſand.

As to the other benefits that would accrue to the nation, from the cultivation of ſo many foreſts, beſides keeping our money at home, and becoming independent of foreign nations for timber to build our ſhips with, they are for the moſt part too obvious to need enumeration, and too many as well as of too great political magnitude to be diſregarded. But it ought particularly to be noted;

1ſt. That timber for the whole navy would be annually delivered where it is to be worked up, without any future trouble or expence to government.

2dly. The influence of the Crown, through all the places, emoluments, and jobs in, or relating to the foreſts, would be annihilated; at the ſame time that the profits to the public would amount to upwards of 120,000l. *per ann.* at low calculations.

The Civil Liſt eſtabliſhment would be eaſed of ſalaries to a large amount; while all perſons diſmiſſed might be better provided for in the diſtribution of the grants, or out of the premiums to be received by government.

A future want of ſhip-timber would be effectually prevented, without any law to inforce its growth; and a neceſſary and important effect of the plan would be, to cauſe our timber to grow preciſely where it ought to grow; in the vicinity of the dock-yards, or contiguous to navigations.

FINIS.